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*Go ye in
Mark*

*We will
Zech.*

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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
Rise and Progress
OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH,
BOTH IN
EUROPE and AMERICA,
CONSISTING

PRINCIPALLY OF SELECTIONS FROM VARIOUS APPROVED AND
AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

Arranged in proper order.

By **A. G. MEACHAM, V. D. M.**

Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every Creature,"
Mark. xvi., 15.

We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you,"
Zech. viii, 23.

HALLOWELL, U. C.

PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHER, BY JOSEPH WILSON,

1832.

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PREFACE.

To present a full and complete detail of all the notable occurrences in the history of Methodism, would doubtless require a work of many volumes. Besides, the extreme difficulty of ascertaining those facts, so extensively scattered throughout both the British and American empire, must needs render such an attempt, totally impracticable.

To gather into a work of commodious size, a general account of the most interesting facts, connected with the rise and progress of Methodism, has therefore been the prime object of the compiler

That such a work is much needed in our community, is clearly demonstrated, from various considerations. First, That the historic records of our church are so promiscuously scattered throughout many volumes, which being written on various subjects, only introduce those historic facts as occasion requires. Secondly, That a large portion of our people possess not the pecuniary means or procuring such an amount of books as would furnish an ample account of these memorable events. Thirdly, That had they the *means*, few, comparatively, could sacrifice *time*, for acquiring from so many volumes, what might be comprised in one. And fourthly, That there are many prominent feats, connected with the history of our Church, which (till of late) have never been recorded—many of which are passed into obscurity, and others but little understood by most of the present generation.

From these considerations, therefore it is deemed important to facilitate as far as possible, the path, which leads to a historical understanding of our origin, character and growth, as a Christian Community : to place within every one's reach a knowledge of the peculiar circumstances under which Methodism first arose, of those striking providences, so conspicuous in its preservation, the extraordinary dispensations of the divine power and grace, which have so visibly marked its progress, and the bases and peculiar genius of its mechanical construction, &c.

That a work thus embracing the most essential topics in the history of our Church, and suited to family convenience, should be laid before, the public has been the particular desire of many of our people; and some, indeed, have express-

ly urged the issue of the present volume, while the subject of its execution was yet immatured in the mind of the compiler.

The above considerations, with others, equally foreign, from any view to personal emolument, were the first and principal stimulents of eliciting this work into execution. Its announcement was fully determined whether it should yield a greater, a less, or no profit at all to the publisher, any more than a moderate recompence for time and expense, &c.

In preparing the following pages, recourse has been had to the various standard works of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from which a large portion of their matter has been extracted; from other prints however, as well as from verbal narrations, have been furnished many interesting facts, which contribute in no small degree to the accomplishment of this work; nor could there indeed, be produced, without such resource, sufficient materials; for accomplishing in an just and proportionate degree a work of this kind; as the standard works of our Church, furnish very little historical matter, either in respect to Methodism in Canada or its progress for some years in the United States.

A short work of this kind compiled by the Revd. James Youngs, A. M. and published at New-Haven, Conn. 1830, by A. Daggett & Co. appears also, quite deficient in these respects. The affairs of Methodism in Canada, are almost wholly neglected; most that is omitted upon that subject, is contained in a short account of a Camp-meeting, connected with some missionary affairs &c. among the Indians. Nor is it much less incomplete, with regard to Methodism in the United States, since about the year 1809 or 10. These vacancies, must doubtless be attributed to the scarcity, or total want, of full and complete documents: as the work is professedly designed, only to embrace such matter, as is extracted from the standard works of our Church, and other authentic productions.

From the pages of the above mentioned work, considerable advantage has been derived in the execution of the present history—though no regard has been paid to that, in respect to general arrangement, the variety and extent of its matter, &c. Whenever necessity has required a departure from our standard works for the purpose of completing the general system of this history, such facts only have been introduced, as are founded in the best authority, whether drawn from printed documents, or from verbal narration.

That the highly respectable origin, and true dignity of Methodism may fully appear, it has been deemed most proper to present in the first place, a brief notice of the ancestry of its founders.

The next in order, a sketch of the lives of those venerable founders, the Rev. John and Charles Wesley, embracing their Literary and Religious endowments, their trials, persecution and death, together with an account of the great reviva-

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of its execution which Religion which marked the whole course of their career, occupies an important and conspicuous place.

The first part of this work, which comprises the rise and establishment of Methodism in Europe, closes with an Appendix, containing a brief biography of a number of the first, and some of the most eminent Methodist preachers, whose labours greatly contributed to the advancement of the cause they so honorably maintained.

The second part embraces the rise and progress of Methodism in the United States (*) and in Canada; accompanied with a defence of the Methodist Episcopacy against the hostile attacks of dissenters, a short biography of the deceased Bishops of the M. E. Church, that of the Revd. Jesse Lee, and also an Appendix, containing a Chronological list of the Itinerant Preachers, from the first reference in America, held in the year 1773 down to the year 1826.

Equally to avoid both tautology and confusion, a direct attention has been paid to the order of Chronology. It is believed that very few digressions will therefore be found, either within the first, or the second division of this work, except in treating the affairs of Methodism in Canada, separate from those in the United States: the work progressing in both countries at the same time. This course was judged the most judicious, as the former country is under a different government from the latter, and, that the body of Methodists in that country, has actually become a separate and independent Church.

Another departure from Chronological order occurs, however, in tracing the life of Mr. Wesley for some years beyond the time that Methodism was planted in America. The former being included in the first, and the latter in the second part of this work.

With respect to the diversity of style, which the intelligent reader will observe in some parts of this work, it may be necessary only to observe, that, from the variety of sources, in which like so many contributing streams, this work has been supplied, it cannot be otherwise expected than that a visible contrast will necessarily appear. From the talented pen of one, for example, the page is written in the most animated and flowing style; while in another, a want of the characteristics which give to history a glow of life and animation will readily be observed. A uniformity, and elegance of style throughout these pages would indeed be desirable: but, as above remarked the course pursued in preparing this work, must necessarily obviate the attainment of that end. The chief design likewise being accomplished by imparting a general knowledge of our

(*) Methodism was planted in this country some years before, either the Revolution or Independence of the United States took place. Hence the allusion to that country, though under a different government from the present.

history, it is therefore to be hoped, that with the enquiring reader, those objections will not be viewed as objectionable to the general design of this work.

Upon the whole, it is confidently believed that a general satisfaction will be afforded, both in regard to the selection of matter and mechanical arrangement. Nor is it needful to observe, that the style for the most part will ensure general approbation, as the reader has been already apprised of the source from whence a large portion of the matter has been obtained.

That a correct and general account of the most important affairs of Methodism, from its first rise nearly to the present period, is collected into this volume will be readily attested by all such as are properly versed in our history.

As many of the members of our church are in a great measure unacquainted with our origin, character and extent as a community of christians, the confident hope is indulged that the results of this work, will contribute in no small degree in supplying that defect. Nor will a much less happy object be attained, should the erroneous and base prejudices of the bigoted enemies of Methodism be corrected, by developing in a true and undissembled character, the facts as are made the subjects of their rage.

In pursuing the course of this work, the glory of God it is trusted, has been kept in view ; and should it eventually redound to his praise, the great end in view would be accomplished, and the utmost satisfaction realized.

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A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH.

PART I.

Of Methodism in Europe.

BOOK I.

Containing a short account of the ancestry and relatives of the

REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

CHAPTER I.

MR. BARTHOLOMEW WESLEY, and MR. JOHN WESLEY.

Accounts of Mr Wesley's ancestry, (says Mr. Moore in his life of the Rev. John Wesley) are sufficiently numerous. For a hundred years past, and to the present day, honorable mention has been made of them, and their worth is acknowledged to be of no common kind. They were eminent both for learning and piety.

Bartholomew Wesley, Mr. John Wesley's great grand father, was educated in one of our Universities, and afterwards held the living of Allington, in Dorsetshire. Along with near two thousand worthy Clergymen, he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity passed in 1660.

He studied physic at the University, as well as divinity; a practice which then had not fallen into disuse. He preached occasionally after his ejection, but applied himself chiefly to the practice of physic. He had a son called John, who died before him, and whose death expedited his own.

John Wesley, of whom I am now speaking, studied at Oxford, and took the degree of Master of Arts. There are no certain accounts of the time of his death, or of his age at that time. He was a person of

early and exemplary piety. He began to preach at twenty-two years of age, and was fixed at White Church, in Dorsetshire, in 1655. After the restoration, some persons gave him much trouble, because he would not read the Book of Common Prayer: they made hearty complaints against him to the Bishop of Bristol. Mr. Wesley waited on him when an interesting conversation took place, which Calamy published, and which the late Mr. Wesley has inserted in his journal. The Bishop was so far satisfied, as to assure him he would not meddle with him; however, he had enemies, who seized him on the Lord's day, in the beginning of 1662, before the Act of Uniformity could eject him; and he was committed to prison at Blandford. He was liberated from confinement, but bound over to appear at the next assizes, to the place where he came off better than he expected. God raised him up several Annesborough friends, inclined a Solicitor to plead for him, and so restrained the wrath of man, that the Judge, though a very passionate man, did not say an angry word.

After this he preached every Lord's day till August 17, when he delivered his farewell sermon to a weeping audience, from Acts 20, 38. On October 20, the place was declared vacant. On the 22 of February 1653 he removed to Melcomb, but the corporation made an order against his settlement there, imposing a fine of twenty pounds upon his landlady, and five shillings per week to be levied by distress. He went next to Bridgewater and then to Ilminster and Taunton, where he met with great kindness from the several denominations — had frequent opportunities of preaching, and obtained many friends who were afterwards very kind to him and his numerous family. A gentleman allowed him to live, rent free, in a house at Preston, two or three miles from Melcomb. He went to it with his family in the beginning of May, and continued to live there till he died.

He had thoughts of going to America, but determined to remain in his native land. A number of serious people at Pool gave him a call to be their Pastor, in which situation he continued to the day of his death. The Oxford Act compelled him to withdraw from his charge at Pool, but he preached wherever he came if he could get a congregation; and after some time he returned home and renewed

labours in the ministry. But he was often disturbed, several times apprehended, and four times imprisoned; once at Pool for half a year, once at Dorchester for three months. The other confinements were shorter. He was in many straits and difficulties, but was wonderfully supported and delivered. It is supposed that he died in the year 1670, but the Vicar of Preston would not suffer him to be buried in the church.

CHAPTER II.

DR. SAMUEL ANNESLEY.

From the Grandfather of Mr. Wesley, on his father's side, we are brought to the grandfather on his mother's side, who was the Rev. Samuel Annesley, L. L. D. He was born at Hillingworth near Warminster, in the year 1620, of religious parents, and was their only child. He was the first cousin to the Earl of Anglesea. In his infancy he was strongly pressed with the thoughts of being a minister, for which his parents intended him from his birth. And when about five or six years old, he began a practice, which he continued afterwards, of reading twenty chapters in the bible every day. He lost his father when he was only four years old, but his mother took care of his education, and had considerable property which enabled her so to do. At the age of fifteen, he went to the University at Oxford, and took his degrees in the usual course. His piety and diligence attracted considerable notice while at Oxford. In 1644, he was ordained as chaplain of the ship called the Globe, under the Earl of Warwick, then Lord High Admiral of England. He went to sea with the fleet, but not liking it, he quit it and settled at Cliff in Kent. He met with great opposition. His predecessor had been disapproved for associating with the people on the Lord's day, to drink, &c. Such a people naturally loved such a minister. They reproached Dr. Annesley with spitsforks and stones, and threatened to kill him. But he was firm and resolved to stay with them till God prepared them by his labours to receive a good successor. He laboured as he ought, and laboured hard, and in a few years, the people were greatly reformed and became exceedingly fond of him. But a sign of providence directed him to a settlement in London, in 1652, by the unanimous choice of the inhabitants of the parish of St. John the

Apostle. Soon after, he was made a Lecturer of St. Pauls ; in the year 1658, the parish of Cripplegate was favoured with settlement there.

He was a man of great integrity, and disinterestedness. He was displaced from his lecture because he would not comply with some things he thought to be wrong. All parties acknowledged him to be an Israelite indeed : but he suffered much from non-conformity. As such was the persecuting party spirit, that an angel from Heaven would have been persecuted, had he been a dissenter.

In his sufferings, God often appeared remarkably for him, and one person was struck dead while signing a warrant to apprehend him.

As a minister, his labours were abundant. His sermons were instructive and affecting, and he spoke from the heart. And in some degree, the care of all the churches were upon him. He was very useful in getting good and useful ministers to such places as wanted them. He was some times the chief, and in sundry instances the sole instrument in the education, as well as the subsistence of young ministers ; and innumerable were the instances, in which he visited and relieved the fatherless, and the widows in their afflictions. He was enabled to say upon his death bed, blessed be God, I can say I have been faithful in the ministry above fifty years.

He had a constant peace within, and an assurance of God's favour to him, for more than thirty years ; and this was not in the least clouded in his last illness. He died full of peace, praise, and joyful hope. Thus died this excellent man, December 31, 1696, in the 77th year of his age.

CHAPTER III.

MR. SAMUEL WESLEY, Senior.

Mr. John Wesley, of whom I have before spoken, left two sons, Mathew and Samuel,—Mathew following the example of his grandfather, studied physic, and made a fortune by his practice. Samuel, the father of the late Mr. John Wesley, was born about the year 1662, or perhaps a little earlier ; but he could not, I think, have been more than eight or nine years old when his father died.

f St. Pauls ; The first thing that shook his attachment to the dissenters, was, a
favoured with ence of the death of King Charles the I. ; and afterwards, the pro-
edness. He dings of the Calf's head Club. These things shocked him, yet it
omply with s certain, that the greater part of the dissenters, disapproved of them
wledged him to he did himself.

He spent some time at a private academy, previous to his going to
University ; but where, we have no certain information. About
age of sixteen ; he walked to Oxford, and entered himself at Exe-
College at this time two pounds and sixteen shillings was all the
ney he possessed ; nor had he any prospect of future supplies, ex-
t from his own exertions, by assisting the younger students, and
tructing any that should choose to employ him. He obtained a sup-
ermons were t until he took his Bachelor's degree, without the least assistance
rt. And in som his friends, except five shillings. This circumstance seems to do
n. He was v much honor, and distinguish him to have been a youth of extra-
places as wantinary diligence and resolution.

dry instances He then removed to London, having increased his stock to one
sistance of you and fifteen shillings, where he was ordained Deacon and obtained
which he visi uracy, in which he continued one year. He was then appointed
r afflictions. aplain on board the fleet. This situation he held one year, and
God, I can s n returned to London, where he served as Curate two years ; dur-
e of God's favio which time he married a wife who brought him a son ; within this
not in the leice, and a living was granted him in the country.

praise, and j He highly approved of the reformation in 1668, notwithstanding
er 31, 1696, e friends of King James most impressively solicited him to give his
oport in favor of Popery, by repeated promises of preferment on
ndition of his compliance. But he even promptly refused to read the
ng's declaration ; and in a bold, and pointed discourse, preached
ainst it, from Daniel iii, 17-18. If it be so, our god whom we
, left two sove, is able to deliver us from the burning firey furnace ; and he
e of his grand deliver us out of thine hands, O King, but if not, be it known
practice. Sto thee—O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy
born about tlden image which thou hast set up.

t, I think, ha For more than forty years Mr. Wesley held the living of Epworth ;
died. character and abilities would have raised him to much higher credit,

had he occupied a more conspicuous situation. This he would have done, had Queen Mary survived any considerable time.

In the beginning of the year 1705, he published a poem upon the "Battle of Blenheim;" which so well pleased the Duke of Marlborough, that he appointed him chaplain to Colonel Lepelle's regiment, which was to tarry some time in England. By reason of the poem, he was sent for by a Lord to London, who promised to procure for him a stipend; but at this time, he was engaged in a controversy with the dissenters, who, in the former part of Queen Anne's reign, had a considerable influence in both houses of parliament and the court; and, were at this time, about to present a petition to the House of Lords, praying for the demands of justice against the authors of several pamphlets, which had been published in opposition to them, and particularly against Mr. Wesley. They were however prevailed upon to relinquish their design, by the members of the same house. They notwithstanding, so far militated against Mr. Wesley, as to prevent him from the anticipated preferment promised him by the noble Lord. They, at length deprived him of his chaplainship, and brought several severe sufferings upon his family.

As a preacher, Mr. Wesley was indefatigable in all the duties of his calling. He was a constant preacher, a diligent visitor of the sick, and a careful attendant upon all committed to his charge.

Nor did this, indeed, divert his attention from literary pursuits. His favorite study, was the Holy Scriptures, which he pursued with indefatigable zeal. The following extract of a letter to his son, Mr. John Wesley, will show something of his diligence in this respect.

January 26th, 1825.

I have some time since designed an edition of the Holy Bible in the octavo, in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Septuagint, and the Vulgate, and have made some progress in it. What I desire of you on this article is, first, that you would immediately fall to work, and read diligently the Hebrew text, in the Polyglott, and collate it exactly with the Vulgate, writing all, even the least variations or differences between them.

his he would Secondly—To these I would have you add the Samaritan text
time. the last column but one, which is the very same with the Hebrew,
a poem upon cept, in some very few places, differing only in the Samaritan
the Duke of M racter, which I think is the true old Hebrew. In twelve months
el Lepelle's r e, you will get through the pentateuch : for I have done it four
By reason of es the last year, and am going over it the fifth, and collating the
promised to o Greek versions, the Alexandrian, and the Vulgate, with what
engaged in a an get of Symmachus and Theodotion. &c.

r part of Q His commentary on the book of Job, in Lattin, is a most elegant
houses of p duction, and denotes the unwearied assiduity of the author. He
to present a s indeed a voluminous writer, and as a poet, he possessed consi-
mands of just rable talent.

d been publi It ought not to be omitted that the famous speech delivered in the
Wesley. T ouse of Lords, by Dr. Sacheverel, in the reign of Queen Ann,
design, by as composed by Mr. Wesley, as his son John informs us in his
g, so far mil story of England.

the anticipa As a christian, Mr. Wesley was ever devoted to the cause of
ey, at length erty and truth. His piety was genuine and deep.—His conduct
severe sufferi niform, and his confidence firm and undaunted in the most trying
uations of his life. In his last moments he displayed much resig-
nation and fortitude. He appeared full of faith, peace and steadfast
all the dutie epe. He was free from the fear of death, and desired his children
nt visitor of out him, to let him hear them talk of Heaven.
charge.

CHAPTER IV.

MRS. SUSANNAH WESLEY.

terary pursu From a brief account of Mr. Wesley's father, we pass to notice
ch he pursu omething concerning his mother. She was the youngest daughter of
tter to his s r. Samuel Annesly, and a few years younger than her husband.—
igence in t eing educated in a truly pious family, she early imbibed a reverence
26th, 1825. r religion. Before she was thirteen, she had examined the whole
Holy Bible r religion. Before she was thirteen, she had examined the whole
the Vulgat ontroversy between the Dissenters and the established church, and
of you on tom that time became a member of the church of England. She after-
ork, and reards examined the evidences of natural religion with scrupulous at-
late it exaction ; and under every article, set down the reasons which deter-
or differend ined her to believe it. Of these things she speaks thus, in a letter
to her son :—

"There is nothing now I desire to live for, but to do some service still at service to my children, that as I have brought them into the world which they I may, if it please God, be an instrument of doing good to their souls by method I had been several years collecting from my little reading, but chief, and descended from my own observation and experience, some little things which I thought better to M hoped might be useful to you all. I began to correct and form all into "None of a little manuel, wherein I designed you should see, what were the, in whose particular reasons which prevailed on me, to believe the Being of God, and any of the and the grounds of natural religion, together with the motives that the day before induced me to embrace the faith of Jesus Christ, under which every one's very ones comprehended my own private reasons, for the truth of revealed religion, me into the school ho

"I would have you at your leisure, begin to do something like turn its letter for yourself, and write down what are the principles on which you breathe and smother your faith; and though I can not perfectly recover all I formerly wrote, before they knew yet I will gladly assist you what I can, in explaining any difficulty very dull. that may occur." I st learned t

About the year 1700, she made a resolution to spend one hourst child I every morning and evening, in private devotions, in prayer and meditation, ve years old and she religiously kept it ever after, unless sickness hindered, earn, and as some absolutely necessary business of her family obliged her to shorten, and as en the time. She generally wrote down her thoughts on different over till subjects, at these times, and great numbers of her meditations have the second & been preserved in her own handwriting. Easter fell l

Though Mrs. Wesley allotted two hours in each day, for meditation, er very we tion and prayer in private; no woman was ever more diligent in bu memory, that ness, or attentive to the concerns of her family. Remarkable for meth What was y and good arrangement, she saved much time, and kept her mind fr knew it wh from perplexity. She had nineteen children, ten of whom at lea by which m grew up to be educated; and this duty fell upon her, and it was almo "The sa impossible for the children to have had a better instructor. knew the le

Her children were very early taught obedience to their parents, and never leavi as soon as they could speak, they were taught the Lord's prayer, alone or othe made to repeat it at rising and bed time constantly. They were ear before we l made to distinguish the Sabbath from other days, and were soon taught, and er the day."

(*) The Manuscript was burnt with their house, February 1709.

to do some ^{time} still at family prayers, and to ask a blessing, immediately after, ^{them} into the which they used to do by signs, before they could kneel or speak.—
 good to their ^{own} method of teaching them to read, was, I think, peculiar to her-
 reading, but chief, and deserves to be noticed. I shall give it in her own words, in
 the things which ^{letter} to Mr. John Wesley.

et and form all is “None of them were taught to read till five years old, except Kez-
 , what were , in whose case I was overuled, and she was more years in learning,
 the Being of God any of the rest had been months. The way of teaching was this:
 the motives the day before a child began to learn, the house was set in order,
 under which very ones work appointed them, and a charge given, that none should
 th of revealed me into the room from nine till twelve, or two till five, which were
 or school hours. One day was also allotted to the child, wherein to
 something like turn its letters, and each of them, did, in that time, know all its letters,
 which you breat and small, except Molly and Nancy, who were a day and a half
 rmerly wrote, before they knew them perfectly, from which I then thought them
 ng any difficulty dull. But, the reason why I thought them so, was, because the
 st learned them so readily: and your brother Samuel who was the
 pend one horst child I ever taught, learned the alphabet in a few hours. He was
 and meditation ve years old on the 10th of February; the next day he began to
 ss hindered, earn, and as soon as he knew the letters, began at the first chapter of
 red her to sh Geneses. He was taught to spell the first verse, then to read it over
 hts on differend over till he could read it off hand without any hesitation; so on to
 meditations ha the second &c., till he took ten verses for a lesson, which he quickly did,
 Easter fell low that year and by whitesuntide, he could read a chap-
 ay, for mediter very well, for he read continually, and had such a prodigious me-
 diligent in bu mory, that I cannot remember to have told him the same word twice.
 able for meth What was yet more strange, any word he had learnt in his lesson, he
 t her mind fr knew it whenever he saw it, either in his Bible, or any other book;
 whom at leay which means he very soon learnt to read an English author well.
 d it was almo “The same method was observed with them all: as soon as they
 or. knew the letters, they were first put to spell one line, then a verse,
 their parents, anever leaving, till perfect in their lesson, were it longer or shorter, so
 t’s prayer, alone or other continued reading at school time, without intermission and
 ey were ear before we left school, each child read what he had learned that morn-
 ere soon taught ing, and ere we parted in the afternoon, what they had learned through
 the day.”

Mr. Wesley observes, "that his mother, as well as his father, and grandfather, had been in her measure, a preacher of righteousness."

Her husband usually attended the convocations; and, on these occasions, was obliged to reside in London, for a length of time, that was often injurious to his parish, and at an expense, that was inconvenient to himself and family. During his absence, Mrs. Wesley formed a little meeting at her house, on Sunday evening, when she read a sermon, prayed and conversed with the people who came for that purpose. (*)

Mrs. Wesley continued to discharge the duties of a wife and parent, with the greatest diligence and punctuality. The letters she wrote to her sons when at Oxford, and after they left it, show her in the most amiable light, both for knowledge and piety. In 1735 she lost her husband, and afterwards, divided her time between her children, till about the year 1739, from which period she resided in London.

It appears from all we have seen of Mrs. Wesley, that she was a woman really devoted to God. She cordially approved of the conduct of her sons, and was animated with zeal for the success of their labours. She continued in the most perfect harmony, with them till her death, attending on their ministry, and walking in the light of God's countenance, she rejoiced in the blessed experience of the truth she heard them preach.

Although Mrs. Wesley was a woman of deep piety and extraordinary devotion to God, yet it appears, that she never understood the doctrine of sanctifying faith, till near the close of her life; and by which means she was deprived of those enjoyments which she would otherwise have received.

She at length, however, obtained that fullness of joy, and perfect love, produced by a simple act of faith in the Son of God, which was highly distinguishable in her death. She bid adieu to this world of trial, on Thursday, July 30, 1742; being filled with triumphs of joy, and all her soul enamoured with the surpassing charms of the Savior of men.

(*) From further accounts, it appears that she continued in this practice for some time to a very good effect.

But I must
rence.—"Fried
my mother, an
side. She wa
quite sensible.
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But I must give Mr. Wesley's own account of this affecting occurrence.—“Friday, July 30th, about three in the afternoon, I went to my mother, and found her change was near. I sat down on the bedside. She was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but I believe, quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixed upward, while we commended her soul to God. From three to four, the silver cord was loosening, and the wheel breaking at the cistern; and then without any struggle, or sigh, or groan, her soul was set at liberty. We stood round the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech, ‘Children, as soon as I am released, sing a psalm of praise to God.’

“*Sunday, August 1*—Almost an innumerable company of people being gathered together, about five in the afternoon I committed to to the earth the body of my mother, to sleep with her fathers. The portion of scripture from which I afterward spoke, was, “*I saw a great white throne and him that sat on it; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened:—And the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.*” It was one of the most solemn assemblies I ever saw, or expect to see on this side of eternity.

“We set up a plain stone at the head of her grave, inscribed with the following words :

“Here lies the body of **Mrs. SUSANNAH WESLEY**, the youngest and last surviving daughter of **Dr. SAMUEL ANNESLEY**.

“In sure and steadfast hope to rise,
And claim her mansion in the skies,
A christian here her flesh laid down,
The cross exchanging for a crown.

“True daughter of affliction, she,
Inur'd to pain and misery,
Mourn'd a long night of griefs and fears,
A legal night of seventy years.

“The father then reveal'd his son,
Him in the broken bread made known :

She knew and felt her sins forgiven,
And found the earnest of her heaven.

"Meet for the fellowship above,
She heard the call, 'Arise, my love!'
'I come,' her dying looks replied,
And lamb-like, as her Lord she died."

Some gentlemen have considered this epitaph in the usual style of criticism, and have seemed insensible to its excellence. However qualified such may be to judge of poetry in general, the poetry of Mr. Charles Wesley seems really too high for them. To me, not wholly unacquainted with the art, this epitaph has always appeared inexpressibly beautiful, and highly characteristic. It is *simple, pure, unlabored*; and has that elevation, and yet sobriety, of spirit, which as Christian believers, we expect to find in those who have "*tasted the powers of the world to come.*" Mr. John Wesley, a most excellent judge of poetry, would not have suffered it to pass, if it were not worthy both of the author and the subject. The "plain stone" too, with the absence of all decoration in the account, is highly in character. *The praise of a christian is not of man, but, of God.* The brothers could not forget this, for they lived in the whole spirit of it. Such were all Mr. Wesley's accounts of his departed friends and fellow-laborers. Those concerning Mr. Fletcher and his own beloved brother Charles, did not together make up ten lines.

CHAPTER V.

REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR.

Samuel Wesley, A. M. son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, was born about the year 1692: a year or two before his parents removed to Epworth; being nearly eleven years older than his brother, Mr. John Wesley, and sixteen years older than Mr. Charles. He did not speak at all, till he was more than four years old, and was thought to be deficient in understanding; but, he one day answered a question, which was proposed to a servant concerning him, in such a way, as greatly surprised all that were present; and from that time spoke without any difficulty. He was sent to Westminster school, in 1704, and admitted a King's scholar, in 1707. Before he left home, his mother had diligently, and successfully taught him the knowledge of religion,

and his mind was brought under religious impressions. When at school, she wrote to him, to put him in mind of his obligations: to devote himself to the service of God, especially as he was intended by his own choice for the christian ministry.

In 1711, he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford and here, as well as at Westminster, he acquired the character of an excellent classic schollar; after, and perhaps before he had taken his degree of A. B. he was sent for, to officiate at Westminster school, and soon after he took his orders, under the patronage of Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster. He became a wise and able preacher, and his conduct was exemplary, both as a christian and a minister, he had a nice sense of honor, was a man of great integrity, and greatly hated, falsehood and duplicity. He was very humane, not only administering to the wants of the poor and afflicted, as far as his income would permit: but also using his influence with others, to procure them relief. No man in the same circumstances, ever shown brighter, in this branch of christian duty, through the whole course of his life than he did.

Mr. S. Wesley was much esteemed by the Earl of Oxford, Bishop Atterbury, Mr. Pope and several others of the first character, of literary talents. •

Bishop Atterbury had opposed the measures of Sir Robert Walpole, and the rest of the ministry, and consequently incurred their displeasure. He was apprehended on the 24th of August, 1722, under an accusation of confederacy, in a plot for subverting the government. Mr. Wesley's intimacy with him, likewise, incurred Walpole's hatred to him; but still, he was not affected towards the then present reigning family. He probably considered Bishop Atterbury, innocent of the charge, and consequently, remained unmoved in his friendship.—By reason of his close attachment to Bishop Atterbury, and his personal disapprobation of Walpole's administration, he was deprived of further preferment at Westminster. He left the situation in 1732, and became master of the free grammar school at Tiverton, in Devon, where he continued until his death.

Mr. S. Wesley, as well as most of his family, was endowed with a considerably tallent for poetry; and many of his poetical productions

were greatly admired. In 1735, he published a quarto volume of poems for which he obtained a numerous, and respectable list of subscribers. Several of these were very witty, and satirical, as well as instructive and some of a grave and serious description.

In consequence of Mr. Wesley's high church principles, he was led to disapprove of his brothers, Mr. John and Charles Wesley's conduct, when they became Itinerant preachers. Several letters passed between them, upon the subject of the doctrines which his brother taught, and of the manner in which they taught them.

Mr. S. Wesley's health was in a bad state when he left Westminster; nor was it much recovered by his removal to Tiverton. On the night of the 5th of November, 1739, he retired apparently as well as usual—about three o'clock in the morning, he was taken very ill, and died at seven; after only about four hours illness.

CHAPTER VI.

Mrs. WRIGHT AND Mrs. HALL.

Mrs. Mahetable Wright, was the tenth or eleventh child of her mother, Mrs. Wesley. It has been said, that she could read the Greek Testament, when she was eight years old. From her infancy she was gay and sprightly, and extremely addicted to wit and humour. As she grew up, she indulged herself in those dispositions, so far, as to give great uneasiness to her parents. About the year 1725, a gentleman, respectable, both for his abilities and situation in life, paid addresses to her, and she had a sincere regard for him. But from some circumstance, he and her father disagreed, and the affair was broken off. From a concurrence of circumstances, in the end of the year 1725, she was induced to marry a person, not at all adapted to make her happy.

Her situation preyed upon her mind, her health and strength gradually wasted away, and at length, she sunk into a degree of melancholly, that made her truly wretched. In her disconsolate state of mind and declining health, she wrote the following epitaph for herself which may afford some conception of her condition.

“Destined while living, to sustain
An equal share, of grief and pain.
All various ills of human race,
Within this beast, had once a place.

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Without complaint, she learned to bear
 A living death, a long despair.
 Till hard oppressed with adverse fate,
 O'er charged, she sunk beneath the weight ;
 And, to this peaceful tomb retired,
 So much esteemed, so much desired.
 The painful, mortal conflict's o'er,
 A broken heart, can bleed no more."

Mrs. Wright however, lived many years after this, and at length, the religion coming to her aid, soothed the anguish of her mind, and gave her peace, though she never recovered her health. She persevered in a religious course of life, patient in her sufferings, resigned to her weakness, and waiting for full salvation, in a dileverance from this mortal state, till 1751.

In March, this year, Mr. Charles Wesley speaks thus of her : "Prayed by my sister Wright, a gracious, tender, trembling soul, a bruised reed which the Lord will not break." She died March 1751 ; (the same month,) and Mr. Charles Wesley preached her funeral sermon.

Miss. Kezzy Wesley was addressed by Mr. Hall, a young gentleman of a good understanding, agreeable in his person, and engaging in his address. He was entered at Lincoln College, as Mr. Wesley's pupil, on the 23d of January 1731 ; but Mr. Wesley was totally ignorant of his addresses to his sister. He believed him sincere and pious, but in a letter written to his mother, while Mr. Hall was at Oxford, he speaks of him, as being highly enthusiastic and superstitious. After he had gained the affections of the young lady, he courted her, and paid his addresses to her sister. The family opposed this conduct with great vehemence, and especially the three brothers. But notwithstanding, their marriage took place ; and the future conduct of Mr. Hall, by no means corresponded to the expectations they at first formed of him. After some years, he quitted his wife, having had ten children by her, and afterwards, lived in the most base and scandleous manner. Mrs. Hall, bore her trials with remarkable patience and resignation, indeed in this respect, she was a pattern to all christians. Mr. Hall, however, after some years, returned to his family again, and Mrs. Hall considering herself obligated by her original covenant, kindly received him, and treated

him with every expression of tenderness and attention, until death. He died, January 6, 1776. Mr. John Wesley speaks of him, says, "He died, I trust in peace, for God had given deep repentance."

Mrs. Hall, was a woman of a remarkable strong understanding she possessed great patience and resignation in her affections. From her own words, it is evident that she enjoyed the comfort of religion. In a letter to her brother, Mr. John Wesley, she thus serves: "I have indeed that blessed peace, which passeth all understanding; and, have had such remarkable promises, so particularly applied to me, that I stand astonished at the goodness of God, supplying me in so wonderful a manner, in the loss of parents, children and friends."

Mrs. Hall out-lived all her brothers and sisters, and died between four and five years, after Mr John Wesley on the 12th of July 1791, filled with peace and joyful hope.

Miss Kezzy, of whom we have spoken, died on the 9th of May 1741. The following account of her happy exit is given by Charles Wesley, in a letter to his brother.

"Yesterday morning," says he, "sister Kezzy died in the Lord Jesus. He finished his work, and cut it short in mercy. Full of thankfulness, resignation and love, without a pain or struggle, committed her spirit into the hands of Jesus and fell asleep."

BOOK II.

Early part of the lives of

MESSRS. JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY,

INCLUDING THE RISE OF METHODISM.

CHAPTER I.

A short account of the Life of the

REVEREND JOHN WESLEY, TO THE YEAR 1735.

MR. JOHN WESLEY, was the second son of Samuel and Susannah Wesley, and born at Epworth in Lincolnshire, on the 17th

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e, 1703, O. S. There has indeed, been some variation in the
counts given of his age, by different persons of the family, but the
evidence of it, sent him by his father a little before he was ordained
pastor, to satisfy the Bishop concerning his age, puts the matter be-
yond all doubt.

“ Epworth, August 23, 1728.”

John Wesley, A. M. Fellow of Lincoln College, was twenty-
years old the 17th June last; having been baptized a few hours
after his birth by me.

“ SAMUEL WESLEY, Rector of Epworth.”

When he was nearly six years old, a calamity happened which
threatened him, and indeed the whole family, with destruction. By
all who have written concerning it have supposed; but
according to his own account, by the wickedness of some of his fa-
ther's parishioners, who could not bear the plain dealing of so faithful
and resolute a pastor, the parsonage house was set on fire.

The following anecdote related to me by Mr. John Wesley, will
throw some light upon this event. Many of his father's parishioners
were much trouble about the tithes. At one time they would only
pay in kind. Going into a field, upon one of those occasions, where
the corn was laid out, Mr. Wesley found a farmer very delibe-
rate at work with a pair of shears, cutting off the ears of corn and
putting them into a bag which he had brought with him for that pur-
pose.

Mr. Wesley said not any thing to him, but took him by the
hand and walked with him into the town. When they got into the
market place, Mr. Wesley seized the bag, and turning it inside out
before all the people, told them what the farmer had been doing. He
then left him, with his pilfered spoils, to the judgment of his neigh-
bors, and walked quietly home.

A letter from Mrs. Susannah Wesley to the Rev. Mr. Hoole, gives
the best account of this calamitous fire. It is dated Aug, 24, 1709.

Rev. Sir,—My master is much concerned that he was so unhap-
py to miss of seeing you at Epworth; and he is not a little troubled
that the hurry of business, about building his house, will not afford
him leisure to write. He has therefore ordered me to satisfy your
curiosity as well as I can, which I shall do by a simple relation of mat-
ters of fact, though I cannot at this distance of time recollect every

calamitous circumstance that attended our strange reverse of fortune, he gave
 On Wednesday night, February the 9th, between the hours of eleven and twelve, our house took fire ; but by what accident God only knows. It was discovered by some sparks falling from the chimney upon the bed, where one of the children (Hetty) lay, and being pulled by her feet, she immediately ran to our chamber and called us ; but we believe no one heard her ; for Mr. Wesley was alarmed by a cry of FIRE in the street, upon which he rose, little imagining that his own house was on fire ; but on opening his door, he found it was full of smoke, and the roof was already burnt through. He immediately came to my room, (as I was very ill, he lay in a separate room from me,) and bid me and my two eldest daughters to rise quickly and save for our lives, the house being all on fire. Then he ran and burst open the nursery door, and called to the maid to bring out the children. Two little ones lay in bed with her; the three others in another bed. He snatched up the youngest, and bid the rest follow, which they did, except Jacky. When we were got into the hall, and saw ourselves surrounded with flames, and that the roof was on the point of falling, we concluded ourselves inevitably lost ; as Mr. Wesley in his fright forgot the key of the doors above stairs. But he ventured up stairs once more, and recovered them, a minute before the stair case took fire. When he opened the street door, the strong north east wind drove the flames with such violence, that none could stand against them. Mr. Wesley only, had such presence of mind as to think of the garden door, through which he helped some of the children ; the rest got through the windows. I was not in a condition to climb up to the windows, nor could I get to the garden door. I endeavored three times to make my passage through the street door, but was as often beat back by the flames. In this distress I besought our blessed Savior to preserve me, if it were his will, from that death : and then waded through the fire, naked as I was, which did me no further harm than a scorching of my hands and face.

"While Mr. Wesley was carrying the children into the garden, I heard the child in the nursery cry out miserably for help, which extremely affected him ; but his affliction was much increased, when he had several times attempted the stairs then on fire, and found that they would not bear his weight. Finding it was impossible to get

verse of fortune, he gave him up for lost, and kneeling down, he commended his
 the hours of ele to God, and left him, as he thought, perishing in the flames.—
 incident God the boy seeing none come to his help, and being frightened, the
 g from the chamber and bed being on fire, he climbed up the casement, where he
) lay, and was soon perceived by the men in the yard, who immediately got up
 d called us; he pulled him out, just in the article of time that the roof fell in, and
 rmed by a crash the chamber to the ground. Thus by the infinite mercy of Al-
 ing that his mighty God, our lives were all preserved by little less than a miracle;
 d it was full there passed but a few minutes between the first alarm of fire, and
 He immediately falling of the house.”

separate room Mr. John Wesley's account of what happened to himself, varies a
 e quickly and e from this relation given by his mother. “I believe,” says he,
 ran and burst was just at that time (when they thought they heard him cry) I
 the children. asked: for I did not cry, as they imagined, unless it was afterward.
 n another bed. remember all the circumstances as distinctly as though it were yes-
 ch they did, ex day. Seeing the room was very light, I called to the maid to take
 rselfes surrounde up. But none answering, I put my head out of the curtains and
 ling, we concl w streaks of fire on the top of the room. I got up and ran to the
 ght forgot the or, but could get no farther, all the floor beyond it being in a
 sirs once more e. I then climbed upon a chest which stood near the window:
 fire. When in the yard saw me, and proposed running to fetch a ladder.—
 rove the flame ther answered, “there will not be time: but, I have thought of
 em. Mr. W ther expedient, Here I will fix myself against the wall: lift u
 garden door, a t man, and set him on my shoulders.” They did so, and he took
 t through the out of the window. Just then the roof fell; but it fell inward, or
 the windows, had all been crushed at once. When they brought me into the
 ee times to se where my father was, he cried out “come neighbors! let us
 n beat back by el down! let us give thanks to God! He has given me all my
 avior to pres t children; let the house go, I am rich enough!”

waded through The next day as he was walking in the garden, and surveying
 arm than a ruins of the house, he picked up part of a leaf of his Polyglott Bi-
 nto the garden on which just these words were legible: *Vade; vende omnia
 help, which habes, et attolle crucem, sequere me. Go: sell all that thou hast,
 creased, when take up the cross, and follow me.”*

nd found that The memory of Mr. John Wesley's escape is preserved in one of
 ble to get early prints. Under his portrait there is a house in flames, with
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this inscription; "Is not this a brand plucked out of the burning?"—He remembered this event ever after with the most lively gratitude, and more than once has introduced it in his writings.

In the month of April, 1712, John had the small-pox, together with four others of the children. His father was then in London, to whom his mother writes thus: "Jack has borne his disease bravely, like a man, and indeed like a Christian, without any complaint; though he seemed angry at the small-pox when they were sore, as we guessed by his looking sourly at them, for he never said any thing." In 1714, he was placed at the Charter-House, with that eminent scholar, Doctor Walker, the Head Master, and became a favorite on account of his sobriety and application. Ever after, he retained a remarkable predilection for that place, and was accustomed to walk through it once or twice a year, during his annual visits in London. He had some reasons, however, to complain of the usage he received at the Charter House. Discipline was so exceedingly relaxed, that the boys of the higher forms were suffered to eat up, not only their own portions of animal food, but those also which were allowed to the lesser boys. By this means he was limited for a considerable part of the time he remained at the school, to a small daily portion of bread as his only solid food. One thing he observed, which contributed among others to his general flow of health, and to the establishment of his constitution, and that was, his invariable attention to a strict command of his father, that he should run round the Charter-House garden, which was of considerable extent, three-times every morning.

In 1719, when his father was hesitating in what situation he should place Charles, his brother Samuel writes thus concerning John: "My brother Jack, I can faithfully assure you, gives you no manner of discouragement from breeding your third son a scholar." Two or three months afterward he mentions him again, in a letter to his father:—"Jack is with me, and a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can."

He was now sixteen, and the next year was elected to Christ Church, Oxford. Here he pursued his studies with great advantage, I believe under the direction of Dr. Wigan, a gentleman eminent for his classical knowledge. Mr. Wesley's natural temper in his youth

was gay and was about to has observed of the finest merits. (*)" polish to all self occasion of this period Latin. Son the 65th Ps verses on the

Toward the of entering importance of the necessary ed to take, t peared of the his mind, tha with more at in his mind o the Holy Ord that does grea swer is dated tion of enterin pleased to fin ary on the sa to Orders as are a Deacon application in I humbly con

In consequ Sacramentaria Methodists. methods they their studies,

(*) Westm

was gay and sprightly, with a turn for wit and humor. When he was about twenty-one years of age, "he appeared" as Mr. Badcock has observed, "the very sensible and acute collegian—a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments. (*)" His perfect knowledge of the classics, gave a smooth polish to all his compositions. He had already begun to amuse himself occasionally with writing verses, though most of his poetical pieces of this period, were, I believe, either imitations or translations of the Latin. Some time in this year, however, he wrote an imitation of the 65th Psalm, which he sent to his father, who says "I like your verses on the 65th Psalm, and would not have you bury your talent."

Toward the close of this year, [1724,] Mr. Wesley began to think of entering into Deacon's Orders; and this led him to reflect on the importance of the ministerial office, the motives of entering into it, and the necessary qualifications for it. On examining the step he intended to take, through all its consequences, to himself and others, it appeared of the greatest magnitude, and made so deep an impression on his mind, that he became more serious than usual, and applied himself with more attention to the subject of divinity. Some doubts arising in his mind on the motives which ought to influence a man in taking the Holy Orders, he proposed them to his father, with a frankness that does great credit to the integrity of his heart. His father's answer is dated the 26th of January, 1725 "As to what you mention of entering into Holy Orders, it is indeed a great work, and I am pleased to find you think it so." His mother wrote to him in February on the same subject, and seemed desirous that he should enter into Orders as soon as possible. "I think," says she, "the sooner you are a Deacon, the better, because it may be an inducement to greater application in the study of practical divinity, which of all other studies, I humbly conceive to be the best for a candidate for orders."

In consequence of this practice they received, at first, the name of Sacramentarians, and afterwards the Godly Club; but finally that of Methodists. A fellow of Merton College, observing the regular methods they pursued in dividing their time between their devotions, their studies, their rest, &c. said, "Here is a new set of Methodist

(*) Westminster Magazine.

sprung up ;" alluding to an eminent college of physicians at Rome, who were so called on account of putting their patients under a peculiar regimen. (*)

But it is not generally known that the name of Methodist, had been given long before the days of Mr. Wesley, to a religious sect in England, which were distinguished by some of those marks which were supposed to characterize this "new set of Methodists." This might have been known to the Fellow of Merton College, who gave the Oxonian Pietists the name of Methodists, though it seems probable that Mr Wesley never caught the idea.

In the beginning of the year 1731, a meeting was held by several of the seniors of the college, to consult on the speediest way to stop the progress of *enthusiasm* in it. Mr. Wesley and his friends did not learn what was the result of this very pious consultation ; but it was soon publicly reported, that Dr. ——— and the censors were going to blow up the *Godly Club*. This was now their common title: though they were sometimes dignified with that of the *Enthusiast*, or the *Reforming Club*. As new difficulties arose, Mr. Wesley lost no opportunity of consulting his friends. He now wrote to his brother Samuel at Westminster, whose answer is dated in April. "I designed," says he, "to have written by Mr. Bateman, to whom I read part of your last letter, concerning the execrable consultation, in order to stop the progress of religion, by giving it a false name. He lifted up his eyes and hands, and protested he could not have believed such a thing. He gave Mr. Morgan a very good character, and said he should always think himself obliged to him, for the pains he took in reclaiming a young pupil of his, who was just got into ill company, and upon the brink of destruction. I do not like your being called a *club* ; that name is really calculated to do mischief. But the other charge of *enthusiasm* can weigh with none, but such as drink away their senses, or never had any : for surely activity in social duties, and a strict attendance on the ordained means of grace, are the strongest guards imaginable against it. I called on Dr. Terry, to desire him to subscribe to *Job*, but did not meet with him at home. In two

(*) See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. 27th Cent. Sec 3, p. 1.

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or three days, *O rem ridiculam et jocosam*, (*) he did me the favor to call upon me. I said 'I hoped my two brothers have still good characters at Oxford.' He answered, he believed they were studious and sober. When he was got down stairs, he turned about, and said, "I think I have heard your brothers are exemplary, and take great pains to instil good principles into young people," I told him, and you may guess I told him the truth; 'I was very glad to hear such a character of them, *especially from him*.' From the last words, it is pretty plain that Dr. Terry, was an avowed opposer of Mr. Wesley and his friends, though he was constrained to bear testimony to the goodness of their characters; but whether he was the grave gentleman, who so piously took his nephew by the throat, to convert him to his own way of thinking and acting, and consulted with the censors how to stop the progress of religion among them, is not certain.

His father, in a letter previously written, says, "I hear my son John has the honor of being styled the 'Father of the Holy Club:' if it be so, I am sure I must be the Grandfather of it; and I need not say, that I had rather any of my sons should be so dignified and distinguished, than to have the title of His HOLINESS."

On the 18th of April, Mr. Wesley, in company with his brother, set out on foot for Epworth, for they now saved every penny that they could to give to the poor. They returned to Oxford on the 12th of May.

They still pursued their design of doing as much good as possible, with the same diligence and zeal as before. Some of their friends, however, began to think that they carried matters too far, and laid unnecessary burdens on themselves. This subject Mr. Wesley mentions in a letter to his mother, giving her at the same time some account of the effects of their journey.

"The motion and sun together," says he, "in our last hundred and fifty miles' walk, so thoroughly carried off all our superfluous humours, that we continue perfectly in health, though it is here a very sickly season. And Mr. Kirkham assures us, on the word of a priest and a physician, that if we will but take the same medicine once or twice a year, that we shall never need any other to keep us from the gout.—

(*) O frivolous and sportive affair!

When we were with him, we touched two or three times upon a nice subject, but did not come to any full conclusion. The point debated was, what is the meaning of being *righteous over much*, or by the more common phrase of, being too strict in religion? and what danger there was of any of us falling into that extreme?

"All the ways of being too righteous or too strict which we could think of, were these: either the carrying some one particular virtue to so great a height, as to make it clash with some other; or, the laying too much stress on the instituted means of grace, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law; or the multiplying prudential means upon ourselves so far, and binding ourselves to the observance of them so strictly, as to obstruct the end we aimed at by them, either by hindering our advance in heavenly affections in general, or by retarding our progress in some particular virtue. Our opponents seemed to think my brother and I [were] in some danger of being too strict in this last sense; of laying burdens on ourselves too heavy to be borne, and consequently too heavy to be of any use to us."

"It is easy to observe, that almost every one thinks that rule totally needless, which he does not need himself; and as to the Christian spirit itself almost every one calls that degree of it which he does not himself aim at, enthusiasm."

About this time their father came up to London, and from thence took an excursion to Oxford, to see what his sons were doing, and in what spirit and temper of mind they were. On his return to London, he wrote a few lines to Mrs. Wesley, Jan. 5, in which he says; "I had yours on new year's day, on which I returned in one day from Oxford, not very well; but well paid both for my expense and labor, by the shining piety of our two sons, of whom I shall write some more at large." This gives the fullest evidence, that the father did not then think his sons were carrying matters too far.

In 1732, this pious company, were joined by Mr. Benjamin Ingham, and soon after, Mr. James Hervey, [author of the *Meditations*], and Mr. George Whitefield, were added to the number. These were all collegians, and must be considered as the *first Methodists*. But how greatly has this mustard-seed grown and spread! Mr. Wesley

says, "in and outward to do."

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says, "in 1729, my brother and I reading the Bible, saw inward and outward holiness therein, followed after it, and incited others so to do."

As the persons united in the society at Oxford were all zealous members of the church of England, by the advice of Mr. Clayton, who now joined them, they added, to their further practices, a regular observance of the fasts of the church, the general neglect of which, they thought, was by no means a sufficient excuse for neglecting them.

On the first of January, 1733, Mr. Wesley preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, before the University, on "*The Circumcision of the Heart*," Rom. ii, 29. In this discourse, which is printed in the second volume of his sermons, he explained with great clearness, and energy of language, his views of the Christian salvation to be attained in this life; from which he never varied in any material point, to the day of his death. He was, indeed, at this time almost wholly ignorant of the gospel method of *attaining* this salvation; but he sought it with his whole heart, according to the knowledge he then had, and was willing to sacrifice the dearest thing he possessed in the world, for the attainment of it. The truth is, he was, like Saul of Tarsus, "*alive without the law*." He was not yet "*slain by the commandment*," and therefore did not come to God in his true character. He who "*justifieth only the ungodly*," could not therefore justify him. The faith which he had at that time could not be imputed to him for righteousness, and hence he had not "*peace and joy in believing*."

His father was now in a bad state of health, and seemed declining in peace. On this account he set out on horseback for Epworth, in the beginning of January. As he was passing over the bridge beyond Daventry, his horse fell over it with him; but he again escaped unhurt. For these interpositions of Providence, Mr. Wesley did not fail to give the tribute of praise and thanksgiving to his Divine deliverer.

The state of his father's health induced his parents to turn their thoughts to the means of obtaining the living of Epworth for him, in case of his father's demise. This was mentioned to him when he

was with them, but he seems to have then but little attended to it. After his return to Oxford in February, he wrote to his mother on the subject. "You observed," says he, "when I was with you, that I was very indifferent as to having or not having the living at Epworth. I was indeed utterly unable to turn either way; and for this reason: I know, if I could stand my ground here, and prove myself a faithful minister of our blessed Jesus, by honor and dishonor, through evil report and good report; then there would not be a place under the heaven like this, for improvement in every good work. But whether I can stem the torrent which I saw then, but see now much more, rolling down from all sides upon me, that I know not. It is true, there is One who can yet either command the great water-flood that it shall not come nigh me, *'or make a way for his redeemed to pass through.'*"

On the 21st of September, 1734, Mr. Wesley began the practice of reading as he travelled on horseback; and this practice he continued for nearly forty years, till his advanced age obliged him to travel in a carriage. His frequent journeys, often on foot as well as on horseback, and the great and constant labor of preaching, reading, visiting, &c. wherever he was, with hard study and a very abstemious diet, had now very much affected his health. His strength was greatly reduced, and he had frequent returns of spitting blood. In the night of the 16th of July, he had a return of it in such quantity as waked him out of sleep. The sudden and unexpected manner of its coming on, with the solemnity of the night season, made eternity seem near. He cried to God, "O! prepare me for thy coming, and come when thou wilt."(*) His friends began to be alarmed for his safety, and his mother wrote two or three letters, blaming him for the general neglect of his health. He now took the advice of a physician; and by proper care, he gradually recovered strength. The whole force of his mind was now bent on religious subjects.

The health of Mr. Wesley's father, as it has been stated before, had been declining for several years, and he now seemed approaching towards the close of life. The old gentleman, conscious of his situation, and desirous that the living of Epworth might remain in the

(*) Private Diary.

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family, wrote to his son John, requesting him to apply for the next presentation. We have already seen, that, when the subject was mentioned the year before, he hesitated, and could not determine one way nor the other. But he was now determined not to accept of the living; and stated to his father some reasons for refusing to comply with his request. His father was disappointed; and attacked him with every argument he could possibly bring to bear upon him. The old gentleman wrote also to his son Samuel on the subject, who warmly took part with his father, and wrote to his brother at Oxford, in December, 1734. "Yesterday," says he, "I received a letter from my father, wherein he tells me, you are unalterably resolved not to accept of a certain living if you could get it. After this declaration, I believe no one can move your mind, but him that made it. You are not at liberty to resolve against undertaking a cure of souls. You are solemnly engaged to do it, before God, and his high priest, and his church. Are you not ordained? Did you not deliberately and openly promise to instruct, to teach, to admonish, to exhort those committed to your charge? Did you equivocate then, with so vile reservation, as to purpose in your heart that you never would have any so committed? It is not a College, it is not a University, it is the *order of the church*, according to which you were called. Let Charles, if he is silly enough, vow never to leave Oxford, and therefore avoid orders. Your faith is already plighted to the contrary; *you have put your hand to the plough*."—John, however, kept himself within his fortress, and answered his brother with caution.

Several letters on this subject, having passed between them, Mr. John Wesley now thought it time to close the debate. His letter is dated the 4th of March. He observes to his brother, "I had rather dispute with you, if I must dispute, than with any man living; because it may be done with so little expense of time and words. The question is now brought to one point, and the whole argument will lie in one single syllogism. Neither hope of doing greater good, nor fear of any evil, ought to deter you from what you have engaged yourself to do: But you have engaged yourself to undertake the cure of a parish: Therefore, neither that hope nor that fear ought to deter you from it. The only doubt which remains is, whether I have so engaged myself, or not? You think I did at my ordination before God and

his High Priest." I think, I did not. However, I own I am not the proper judge of the oath I then took ; it being certain and allowed by all, "*Verbis, in quæ quis jurejurando adigitur, sensum genuinum, ut et obligationi Sacramenti modum ac mensuram, præstitui a mente non præstantis sed exigentis juramentum.*"—"That the true sense of the words of an oath, and the mode and extent of its obligation, are not to be determined by him who takes it, but by him who requires it." Therefore it is not I, but the High Priest of God, before whom I contracted that engagement, who is to judge of the nature and extent of it. "Accordingly, the post after I received yours, I referred it entirely to him, whether I had at my ordination, engaged myself to undertake the cure of a parish or no? His answer runs in these words: "It doth not seem to me, that at your ordination you engaged yourself to undertake the cure of any parish, provided you can, as a clergyman, better serve God and his church in your present or some other situation."—Now that I can, as a clergyman, better serve God and his Church in my present situation, I have all reasonable evidence."

The late Dr. Priestly, upon a view of Mr. John Wesley's refusal to apply for the living of Epworth, and of his invincible resolution in every thing which appeared to him to concern religion has declared "he wanted only *rational principles* of religion, to be one of the first of human characters." Had he had only what the Doctor calls *rational principles of religion*, he might have gone the usual rounds of parochial duty at Epworth, and, it may be, might have succeeded to what is termed a *better living*. But, however he might in that case have been admired as a scholar and a man, he certainly never would have been ranked with the Reformers and Apostles ; nor would the present, not to say "future generations, rise up," as the Doctor says they will, "and call him blessed." His first sermon delivered externally, was in All-Hallow's Church, Lombard street, London, in the beginning of the year 1735. At that time, and for years after, to preach without a book was considered as a very wonderful thing.

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CHAPTER II.

A short account of the life of the REV. CHARLES WESLEY, and of his connection with his brother, MR. JOHN WESLEY.

Mr. Charles Wesley was born December 18, 1708, O. S. several weeks before his time, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, being about five years younger than his brother John, and about sixteen years younger than his brother Samuel. He appeared dead rather than alive when he was born : he did not cry nor open his eyes, and was kept wrapped up in soft wool, until the time when he should have been born, according to the usual course of nature, and then he opened his eyes and cried.

He received the first rudiments of learning at home, under the pious care of his mother, as all the other children did. In 1716, he was sent to Westminster school, and placed under the care of his eldest brother, Samuel Wesley, a high churchman who educated him in his own principles. He was exceeding sprightly and active, very apt to learn but arch and unlucky, though not ill natured. When he had been some years at school, Mr. R. Wesley, a gentleman of large fortune in Ireland, wrote to his father, and asked if he had any son named Charles : if so, he would make him his heir ; accordingly a gentleman in London brought money for his education several years. But one year another gentleman called, probably Mr. Wesley himself, talked largely with him, and asking if he was willing to go with him to Ireland. Mr. Charles desired to write to his father, who answered immediately, and referred it to his own choice : He chose to stay in England. Mr. W. then found and adopted another Charles Wesley, who was the late Earl of Mornington, ancestor of the present Marquis Wellesley, and the Duke of Wellington. " A fair escape," says Mr. John Wesley, from whose short account of his brother I have taken this anecdote. Mr. John Wesley wrote this short account a few months before his death, intending to publish it.

From this time Mr. Charles Wesley depended chiefly upon his brother Samuel, till 1731. when he was admitted a scholar of St. Peter's college, Westminster.

He was now a King's scholar, and as he advanced in age and learning, he acted dramas, and at length became captain of the school.

In 1726, he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, at which time his brother was fellow of Lincoln college. Mr. John Wesley gives the following account of him after he came to Oxford: "he pursued his studies diligently, and led a regular and harmless life; but, if I spoke to him about religion, he would warmly answer, 'what, would you have me to be a saint all at once! and would hear no more?'"

Mr. C. Wesley gives the following account of himself: my first year at college, I lost in diversions. The next, I set myself to study. Diligence led me into serious thinking: I went to the weekly sacrament, and persuaded two other young students to accompany me, and to observe the method prescribed by the university. This gained me the harmless name of Methodist. In half a year (after this) my brother left his curacy, at Epworth, and came to our assistance. We then proceeded regularly in our studies and, in doing what good we could to the bodies and souls of men."

The enemies of the christian revelation were become so bold at this time, (1729) in their attempts to propogate their principles in the University, as to rouse the attention of the Vice Chancellor, who issued a programma, or edict, which was fixed up in most of the Halls of the University; recommending it as a matter of the utmost consequence, that the tutors of each college, discharge their duty, by a doubled diligence in instructing their respective pupils in their christian course, explaining to them the articles of their religion, and recommending them to search the scriptures; and, forbidding the youth reading such books as might tend to weaken their faith, and subvert the authority of the scriptures.

In course of the following summer Mr. Charles Wesley became more and more serious, and his zeal for God began to manifest itself in exertions to do good, beyond the common round of religious duties. He endeavored to awaken an attention to religion in the minds of some of the students, and was successful in one or two instances.

Mr. Charles Wesley and his brother John, had been always united in affection; they were now united in their pursuit of learning, their

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views of religion, and their endeavours to do good. Mr. Charles received his degree of A. M. in the usual course, and thought only of spending all his days at Oxford, as a teacher : for he exceedingly dreaded entering into Holy Orders. But in 1735, a new scene opened before him, and his pious brother, which had not been contemplated by either of them, but was manifestly marked out, by the providence of him, who worketh all things according to the counsels of his own will.

The meetings of the Mr. Wesleys and their associates, now began to be more directly religious; their spirit, and true character, perhaps, cannot be more fully exemplified, than by a sample of their scheme of self examination, mutually agreed on among themselves. I give it an insertion for the benefit of the reader.

Love of God and simplicity—means of which, are Prayer and Meditation.

1. Have I been simple and recollected in every thing I said or did? Have I (1) been simple in every thing; i. e. looked upon God as my Good, my Patern, my One Desire, my Disposer, Parent of Good? Acted wholly for Him, bound my views with the present action, or hour? (2) Recollected, i. e. Has this simple view been distinct and uninterrupted? Have I done any thing without a previous perception of its being the will of God, or without a preception of its being exercise, or a means of the virtue of the day? Have I said any thing without it?

2. Have I prayed with fervor, going in and out of church? in the church—morning and evening—in private—Monday—Wednesday and Friday—with my friends? At rising? Before lying down? On Saturday noon? All the time I was engaged in exterior work in private? Before I went into the place of public or private prayer for help therein? Have I whenever I was gone to church? morning and evening unless for necessary mercy? And spent from one hour to three in private? Have I in private prayer frequently stopt short, and observed what fervor? Have I repeated it over and over till I adverted to every word? Have I at the beginning of every prayer or paragraph owned I cannot pray? Have I paused before I concluded in his name, and

adverted to my Saviour now interceding for me at the right hand of God, and offering up these prayers?

3. Have I daily used ejaculations? i. e. Have I every hour prayed for humility, faith, hope, love, and the particular virtue of the day? considered with whom I was the last hour? what I did, and how? with regard to recollection, love of man, humility, self denial resignation and thanksgiving? considered the next hour in the same respects? offered all I do to my Redeemer? begged his assistance in every particular? and committed my soul to his keeping? Have I done this diligently? (not in haste)—seriously? (not doing any thing the while?)

4. And have I duly prayed for the virtue of the day? i. e. Have I prayed for it at going out and coming in? diligently, seriously, fervently.

5. Have I used a collect at nine, ten and three? i. e. Have I prayed for it at going out and coming in? deliberately, seriously and fervently?

6. Have I duly meditated every day, unless for necessary mercy? (1) from six &c. to prayers? (2) from four to five [what was the particular providence of the day?] How ought the virtues of the day to have been excited upon it? How did it fall short? (Here faults.) (3) On Sunday, from six to seven with Kempis? From three to four on Redemption, or God's Attributes? Wednesday and Friday, from twelve to one, on the Passion? after ending a book, what I had marked in it?

Love of Man.

1st. Have I been zealous to do, and active in doing good? i. e. (1) Have I embraced every probable opportunity of doing good, and preventing, removing or lessening evil? (2) Have I pursued it with my might? (3) Have I thought any thing too dear to part with to serve my neighbor? (4) Have I spent an hour at least in speaking to some or other? (5) Have I given any one up till he expressly renounced me? (6) Have I before I spoke to any, learned as far as I could his temper, way of thinking, past life, and peculiar hinderances, internal and external. Fixed the point to be aimed at, then the means to it? (7) Have I in speaking proposed the motives, then the diffi-

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culties, then balanced them, then exhorted him to consider both calmly and deeply and to pray earnestly for help? (8) Have I in speaking to a stranger explained what religion is not (not negative, not external) and what it is [a recovery of the Image of God], searched at what step in it he stops, and what makes him stop here? Exhorted and directed him? (9) Have I persuaded all I could to attend public prayers, sermons and sacraments? and in general to obey the laws of the Church universal, the Church of England, the State, the University, and their respective College. (10) Have I when taxed with any act of obedience avoided it, and turned the attack with sweetness and firmness? (11) Have I disputed upon any practical point, unless it was to be practiced just then. (12) Have I in disputing, (1) desired my opponent to define the terms of the question; to limit it, what he grants, what he desires? (2) Delayed speaking my opinion, let him explain and prove his, then insinuated and pressed objections. (13) Have I after every visit asked him who went with me, "Did I say anything wrong? (14) Have I when any one asked advice, directed and exhorted him with all my power?

2d. Have I rejoiced with and for my neighbor in virtue or pleasure? grieved with and for him in pain, for him in sin.

3rd. Have I received his infirmities with pity, not anger?

4th. Have I thought or spoke unthinking of or to him? Have I revealed any evil of any one unless it was necessary to some particular good I had in view. Have I then done it with all the tenderness of phrase and manner consistent with that end? Have I in any way appeared to approve them that did otherwise?

5th. Has good will been and appeared to be the spring of all my actions towards others?

6th. Have I duly used intercession. (1) Before, (2) after speaking to any? (3) For my friends on Sundays, (4) for my pupils on Wednesdays? (5) for those who have particularly desired it on Wednesdays and Fridays? (6) for the family in which I am every day?"

In the year 1731, the two brothers began the practice of conversing together in latin, when ever they were alone, chiefly with a view of acquiring a facility in expressing themselves in that language,

on all occasions with perspicuity, energy and elegance. This practice they continued for nearly sixty years, and with such success, that if either their style did not equal, it certainly on some subjects, approached nearer to the best models of conversation in the Augustine age, than many of the learned have thought possible to attain.

CHAPTER II.

MR. WESLEY'S mission to America—in which he was accompanied by his brother Charles.

Mr. Wesley's father died in April, 1735, and the living in Epworth was given away in May ; so that he now considered himself as settled at Oxford, without any risk of being further molested in his quiet retreat. But a new scene of action was soon proposed to him, of which he had not before the least conception. The trustees of the new colony of Georgia were greatly in want of proper persons to send thither, to preach the Gospel, not only to the Colony, but to the Indians. They fixed their eyes upon Mr. John Wesley and some of his friends, as the most proper persons, on account of the regularity of their behavior, their abstemious way of living, and their readiness to endure hardships. On the 28th of August, being in London, he met with his friend Dr. Burton, for whom he had a great esteem ; and the next day was introduced to Mr. Oglethorpe, where the matter was proposed to him, and strongly urged upon him by such arguments as they thought most likely to dispose his mind to accept of the proposal. It does not appear that, Mr. Wesley gave them any positive answer. He thought it best to take the opinion of his friends. Accordingly he wrote to his brother Samuel, and visited Mr. Law, and in three or four days, set out for Manchester, to consult Mr. Clayton, Mr. Byrom and several others whose judgment he respected. From thence he went to Epworth, and laid the matter before his mother. Her answer as he related it to me, was worthy of the mother and the son : " had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." His eldest brother also consented to his acceptance of the proposal. His brother Samuel did the same. Mr. Wesley still hesitated ; on the 8th of September, Dr. Burton wrote to him, pressing him to a compliance. He now consented to go to Georgia.

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Mr. Charles Wesley at this time resided at Oxford, and when his brother consented to Dr. Burton's proposal, he also declared his willingness to accompany him in this new and untried path, which promised nothing except what they ardently desired,—a more complete deliverance from the world. This design, respecting Charles, his brother Samuel vehemently opposed ; but in vain. Mr. Charles engaged himself as secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe, and also as secretary for Indian affairs.

A little before they left England, Dr. Burton suggested that it might be well if Mr. Charles Wesley were also ordained before he left this country. Mr. John Wesley overruled his brother's inclination in this thing also, and he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford ; and the Sunday following, Priest, by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London : (*) Mr. Wesley now prepared for his voyage to America.

Mr. Hampson in his Memoirs of Mr. Wesley, expresses no small surprise, when he comes to treat of his mission to Georgia, at what appears to him a strange and unaccountable change of mind in one who had just before evinced such unshaken firmness. "We imagined," says he "that nothing less than stern necessity could have induced him to quit his beloved retirement." Had he enjoyed any intimacy with Mr. Wesley, he would have been able easily to account for it. This mission proved in general, a scene of temptation and trial in the wilderness, "where," says Mr. Wesley, "God humbled me, and proved me, and showed me what was in my heart."

On Tuesday, October 14, 1735, Mr. Wesley and his brother Charles set off from London for Gravesend, accompanied by Mr. Ing- ham and Mr. Delamotte, in order to embark for Georgia. "Our end," says he, "in leaving our native country, was, not to avoid want, [God having given us plenty of temporal blessings,] nor to gain the dung and dross of riches and honor ; but singly this, to save our souls, to live wholly to the glory of God." Accordingly, the two following days, which they spent partly on board and partly on shore, they employed in exhorting one another "*to shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before them!*" There were six

(*) Mr. C. Wesley's letter to Dr. Chandler.

and twenty Germans on board, members of the Moravian Church.—Mr. Wesley was much struck with their Christian deportment, and immediately set himself to learn the German language in order to converse with them.

They sometimes visited General Oglethorpe, who was the Governor of Georgia, and with whom they sailed, in his cabin. Upon one of those occasions, as Mr. Wesley informed me, the officers, and certain gentlemen who had been invited, took some liberties with the clergymen, not relishing their gravity. The General was roused at this, and in a manner not to be misunderstood, cried out, "What do you mean, Sirs? Do you take these gentlemen for tithe-pig parsons?—They are gentlemen of learning and respectability. They are my friends; and whoever offers any affront to them, insults me." From this time they were treated with great respect by all the passengers.

"Believing," says Mr. Wesley, "the denying ourselves in the smallest instance, might by the blessing of God, be helpful to us, we wholly left off the use of flesh and wine, and confined ourselves to vegetable food, chiefly rice and biscuit."

That the time he spent with the passengers was not wholly lost upon them, we also learn from several passages in his Journals. Many were deeply awakened; others were instructed in the first principles of the Christian religion, who were before entirely ignorant; and some, who had lived for years in a constant neglect of the ordinances of the Gospel, were prevailed upon to attend them by the indefatigable labors of himself and his coadjutors.

But though his eye was single; though his life was not only harmless but exemplary; though he gave all his goods to feed the poor, and sacrificed ease and honor, and every other temporal gratification, that he might follow Christ; yet it is certain, he was still very little acquainted with true experimental religion. This the Lord now began to show him. First by the fear of death, which, notwithstanding all his efforts, brought him into bondage, whenever danger was apparent. "At those times," he remarks, "I plainly felt I was unfit, because I was unwilling to die;"* and, Secondly, the lively

(*) Mr. Southey, however, would have us believe, that this fear of death arose merely from the state of his stomach!

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and victorious faith, which he evidently perceived in some of his fellow passengers, still more convinced him, that he possessed not the saving power of religion.

Speaking of the Germans, he remarks, "I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they have given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers, which none of the English would undertake, for which they desired, and would receive, no pay, saying, 'It was good for their proud hearts,' and 'their loving Saviour had done more for them.' And every day had given them occasion of showing a meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again and went away, but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger and revenge. In the midst of the Psalm, where-with their service began, the sea broke over, split the main-sail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterward, 'Was you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, not.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No; our women and children are not afraid to die.'

A circumstance occurred in the course of his voyage, which is not unworthy of notice. Mr. Wesley, hearing an unusual noise in the cabin of General Oglethorpe, stepped in to enquire the cause; on which the General immediately addressed him, "Mr Wesley, you must excuse me, I have met with a provocation too great for man to bear. You know, the only wine I drink, is Cyprus wine, as it agrees with me the best of any. I therefore provided myself with several dozens of it, and this villian Grimaldi, [the Italian servant, who was present, and almost dead with fear,] has drunk nearly the whole of it. But I will be revenged: He shall be tied hand and foot, and carried to the man of war. [He alluded to a ship of war which sailed with them.] The rascal should have taken care how he used me so, for I never forgive."—"Then, I hope, sir, [said Mr.

Wesley, looking calmly at him,] you never sin." The General was quite confounded at the reproof; and, after a pause, putting his hand into his pocket, he took out a bunch of keys, which he threw at Grimaldi, saying, "There, villain! take my keys, and behave better for the future."

Thursday, Feb. 5, 1736, they arrived in Savannah river, in Georgia, and about eight the next morning landed on a small uninhabited island. General Oglethorpe led them to a rising ground, where they kneeled down to give thanks. He then took boat for Savannah.—When the rest of the people came on shore, they also joined together in prayer. Upon this occasion Mr. Wesley observes, that the Second Lesson, Mark vi. seemed to him peculiarly suitable.

Sunday, March 7, Mr. Wesley entered on his ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the epistle for the day, being the xliith of the first of Corinthians. In the Second Lesson, Luke xviii. was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself, [and consequently his followers,] was to meet with from the world; and his gracious promise to those who are content, *Nudi nudum Christum sequi*: (*) "*Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or parent, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life.*"

"Yet," says he, "notwithstanding the plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of; nay, and the reason of the thing, evincing it to a demonstration, that all who love not the light, must hate him who is continually labouring to pour it in upon them;—I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterward sat on all their faces; I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience, and reason and Scripture, all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that

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spake it. O, who can believe what his heart abhors? Jesus, Master, have mercy on us! Let us love thy cross! Then shall we believe, "*If we suffer with Thee, we shall also reign with Thee!*"

Mr. Charles Wesley proceeded to Frederica, Mr. Oglethorpe chiefly residing there. His brother remained at Savannah,—but waiting for an opportunity of preaching to the Indians. On March the 9th, he landed at Simon's Island, near Frederica, and as he informs us in his Journal, his spirit immediately revived. "No sooner," says he, "did I enter on my ministry, than God gave me a new heart; (*) so true is that saying of Bishop Hall, 'The calling of God never leaves a man unchanged; neither did God ever employ any in his service, whom he did not enable for the work.'"

July 26.—Mr. C. Wesley set out for Charleston on his way to England. Thus far the brother accompanied him; and they arrived there on the 31st of July. (†) He now found his desires renewed to recover the image of God; and at the Sacrament was encouraged, in an unusual manner, to hope for pardon, and to strive against sin.

While Mr. C. Wesley stayed at Charleston, his bloody flux and fever hung upon him and rather increased. Notwithstanding this, he was determined to go in the first ship that sailed for England. His friends endeavored to dissuade him from it, both because the ship was very leaky, and the Captain a mere beak of a man, was almost continually drunken. But he was deaf to their advice. "The public business," says he, "that hurried me to England, being of that importance, that as their Secretary I could not answer to the Trustees for Georgia, the loss of a day." Accordingly he engaged his passage on board the London Galley, which left Charleston on the 16th of August. But they soon found that the Captain, while on shore, had neglected every thing to which he ought to have attended. The vessel was too leaky to bear the voyage: and the Captain, drinking scarcely nothing but gin, had never troubled his head about taking in a sufficient quantity of water; so that, on the 26th they were obliged to be reduced to short allowance. Meeting afterward with stormy

(*) An anticipation of the faith which he afterwards received.

(†) This account also agrees with Mr. John Wesley's Journal. See his Works, Vol. xxvi, p. 145.

weather, the leak became alarming; and their difficulties increased so fast upon them, that they were obliged to steer for Boston, in New England, where they arrived, with much difficulty and danger on the 24th of September.

Mr. C. Wesley was soon known at Boston, and met with a hospitable reception among the ministers both of the town and neighborhood.

Mr. C. Wesley did not go on board as he expected, the ship being detained some time longer. During his stay here, his disorder returned with violence, and reduced him to a state of very great weakness.

On the 15th of Oct. he wrote to his brother, and continued his letter in a kind of a journal to the 25th, when he went on board the ship, and sailed for England.

On the 27th, Mr. C. Wesley had so far recovered his strength that he was able to read prayers. The next day the Captain informed him, that a storm was approaching. In the evening it came on with dreadful violence, and raged all night.

On the 29th in the morning, they shipped so prodigious a sea, that it washed away their sheep, half of their hogs, and drowned most of their fowls. The ship was heavily laden, and the sea streamed in so plentifully at the sides, that it was as much as four men could do, by continual pumping, to keep her above the water. "I rose and lay down by turns," adds Mr. C. Wesley, "but could remain in no posture long. I strove vehemently to pray, but in vain; I still persisted in striving but without effect. I prayed for power to pray, (*) for faith in Jesus Christ; continually repeated his name, till I felt the virtue of it at last, and knew that I abode under the shadow of the Almighty."

At three in the afternoon, the storm was at the height; at four, the ship made so much water, that the Captain, finding it otherwise impossible to save her from sinking, cut down the mizen-mast. "In this dreadful moment," says Mr. C. Wesley, "I bless God I found the comfort of hope; and such joy in finding I could hope, as the world can neither give or take away. I had that conviction of the power of God present with me, overbalancing my strongest passion, fear, and

(*) He means with confidence and comfort.

raising me above what I am by nature, as surpassed all rational evidence, and gave me a taste of the Divine goodness." He at that time again anticipated the power and sweetness of Christian faith; no uncommon thing with those who mourn for it. See this subject well illustrated in Mr. John Wesley's Sermon on "The Spirit of bondage, and of adoption."

On the 30th, the storm abated; and "on Sunday the 31st," he observes, "my first business was, [may it be the business of all my days!] to offer up the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. We all joined in thanks for our deliverance most of the day."

They soon met with another storm, but not so violent as the former; and continuing their voyage, with some intervening difficulties and dangers, till the 3d December, the ship arrived opposite Deal, and the passengers came safe on shore. "I kneeled down," says Mr. C. Wesley, "and blessed the hand that had conducted me through such inextricable mazes, and desired I might give up my country again, whenever God should require it."—A state of mind very different from that of many who have been called to labor for the Lord!

Leaving Mr. Charles Wesley safe in his native land, we shall now proceed to his brother Mr. John Wesley.

On the 18th of March, 1736, he wrote to his mother as follows: "I doubt not but you are already informed of the many blessings which God gave us in our passage; as my brother Wesley must, before now have received a particular account of the circumstances of our voyage; which he would not fail to transmit to you by the first opportunity.

"We are likely to stay here some months. The place is pleasant beyond imagination; and, by all I can learn, exceeding healthful,—even in summer, for those who are not intemperate. It has pleased God that I have not had a moment's illness of any kind since I set my foot upon the continent: nor do I know any more than one, of my seven hundred parishioners, who is sick at this time. Many of them indeed, are, I believe, very angry already: for a gentleman, no longer ago than last night, made a ball; but the public prayers happening to begin about the same time, the Church was full, and the ball-room so empty that the entertainment could not go forward.

April 4, Mr. Wesley set out for Frederica, in a pettiawga, a sort of flat-bottomed barge, and the following evening they anchored near Skidoway island, where the water at flood was twelve or fourteen feet deep. Mr. Wesley wrapped himself up in a large cloak, and lay down on the quarter-deck: but in the course of the night he rolled out of his cloak, and fell into the sea, so fast asleep that he knew not where he was, till his mouth was full of water. He swam round to a boat, and got out without more injury than that of wetting his clothes. This instance gives us a lively view of his fortitude and presence of mind in the midst of surprise and danger. Mr. Wesley left Frederica and arrived again at Savannah on the 20th.

Not finding any door open for the prosecution of the grand design which induced him to visit America, the conversion of the Indians, he and Mr. Delamotte considered, in what manner they might be most useful to the little flock under their care. And they agreed, (1.) To advise the most serious among them, to form themselves into a sort of little Society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to improve, instruct and exhort one another. (2.) To select, out of these, a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other, which might be forwarded partly by their conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to their house; and this accordingly they determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon.

Some time after the evening service, as many of the parishioners as desired it, met at Mr. Wesley's house, (as they did also on Wednesday evening,) and spent about an hour in prayer, singing, and mutual exhortation. A smaller number (mostly those who designed to communicate the next day,) met there on Saturday evening; and a few of these came to him on the other evenings, and passed half an hour in the same employment.

He had now another proof of the power of Gospel-faith. One of the Moravians being ill of a consumption, he informed Bishop Nitschman of it. "He will soon be well," said he, "he is ready for the Bridegroom." Calling to see him afterward, and asking how he did, "my departure [said he] I hope is at hand." Mr. Wesley then asked, "Are you troubled at that?" He replied, "O no; to depart and to be with Christ, is far better. I desire no more of this bad

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world. My hope and my joy and my love are there." The next time he saw him, the poor man, said, "I desire nothing more, than for God to forgive my many and great sins. I would be humble. I would be the humblest creature living. My heart is humble and broken with sins. Tell me, teach me, what I shall do to please God. I would fain do whatever is his will." Mr. Wesley said, "It is his will, you should suffer." He answered, then I will suffer. I will gladly suffer what ever pleases him." The next day, finding him weaker, he asked, "Do you still desire to die?" he said, "Yes; but I dare not pray for it, for I fear I should displease my heavenly Father. His will be done. Let Him work his will, in my life, or in my death."

Some time before this, a few of the Indians had made him a visit, and seemed desirous of hearing *the great word*, as they called the preaching of the Gospel. About twenty of them were now at Savannah. Five of the principal of them came to him with an interpreter: and the following interesting conversation passed between them.

Q. Do you believe there is one above, who is over all things?

Paustobee, one of their Chiefs, answered, we believe there are four beloved things above; the clouds, the sun, the sky, and he that lives in the clear sky.

Q. Do you believe, there is but one that lives in the clear sky?

A. We believe there are two with him; three in all,

Q. Do you think, he made the sun and the other beloved things?

A. We cannot tell. Who hath seen?

Q. Do you think he made you?

A. We think he made all men at first.

Q. How did he make them at first?

A. Out of the ground.

Q. Do you believe he loves you?

A. I do not know; I cannot see him.

Q. But has he often saved your life?

A. He has. Many bullets have gone on this side, and many on that side, but he would never let them hurt me. And many bullets have gone into these young men, and they are alive! (*)

(*) We see this Indian, like the heathen mentioned in Acts xxviii, believed in a Particular Providence, which many, even the learned, affect to despise.

Q. Then, cannot he save you from your enemies now ?

A. Yes ; but we know not if he will. We have now so many enemies round about us, that I think of nothing but death. And if I am to die, I shall die, and will die like a man. But if he will have me to live I shall live. Though I had ever so many enemies, he can destroy them all.

Q. How do you know that ?

A. From what I have seen. When our enemies came against us before, then the beloved clouds came for us. And often much rain, and sometimes hail, has come upon them, and that in a very hot day. And I saw when many French and Choctaws and other nations came against one of our towns : And the ground made a noise under them, and the Beloved Ones in the air behind them. And they were afraid and went away, and left their meat and drink and their guns. I tell no lie. All these saw it too.

Q. Have you heard such noises at other times ?

A. Yes, often : Before and after almost every battle.

Q. What sort of noises were they ?

A. Like the noise of drums and guns and shooting.

Q. Have you heard any such lately ?

A. Yes : Four days after our last battle with the French.

Q. Then you heard nothing before it ?

A. The night before, I dreamed I heard many drums up there, and many trumpets there, and much stamping of feet and shouting. Till then I thought we should all die. But then I thought the Beloved Ones were come to help us. And the next day I heard above a hundred guns go off, before the fight began. And I said "When the sun is there, the Beloved Ones will help us, and we shall conquer our enemies." And we did so.

Q. Do you often think and talk of the Beloved Ones.

A. We think of them always wherever we are. We talk of them and to them, at home and abroad ; in peace, in war, before and after we fight ; and, indeed, whenever and wherever we meet together.

Q. Where do you think your souls go after death ?

A. We believe the souls of the red men walk up and down near the

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place where they died, or where their bodies lie. For we have often heard cries and noises near the place, where any prisoners had been burnt.

Q. Where do the souls of white men go after death?

A. We cannot tell. We have not seen.

Q. Our belief is, that the souls of bad men only walk up and down; but the souls of good men go up.

A. I believe so too. But I told you the talk of the nation.

Mr. ANDREWS, the Interpreter. They said at the burying [which Mr. Wesley had attended shortly before,] "They knew what you was doing. You was speaking to the Beloved Ones above, to take up the soul of the young woman."

Q. We have a Book that tells us many things about the Beloved Ones above. Would you be glad to know them?

A. We have no time now but to fight. If we should ever be at peace, we should be glad to know.

Q. Do you expect ever to know what the white men know?

Mr. ANDREWS. They told Mr. Oglethorp, they believed "the time will come when the red and white men will be one."

Q. What do the French teach you?

A. The *French Black Kings* (*) never go out. We see you go about, We like that. That is good.

Q. How came your nation to the knowledge they have?

A. As soon as ever the ground was sound, and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since. But we are young men. Our old men know more. But all of them do not know. There are but a few, whom the Beloved One chooses from a child, and is in them, and takes care of them, and teaches them. They know these things, and our old men practise, therefore they know; but I do not practise, therefore I know little.

March 4.—Mr. Wesley wrote to the Trustees for Georgia, giving them an account of his expenses from March 1, 1736, to March 1, 1737, which deducting extraordinary expenses for repairing the parsonage house, journies to Frederica, &c. amounted for himself and Mr. Delamotte, to forty-four pounds, four shillings and four pence. At

(*) So they called the Priest.

the same time he accepted of the fifty pounds a year, sent by the society for his maintenance, which, however, was in a manner forced upon him, as he had formed a resolution not to accept of it, saying his fellowship was sufficient for him. (*) For a particular account of the trials, perplexities and persecutions Mr. Wesley suffered, passed through and endured in America, the reader is referred to Moore's life of Wesley, vol. I. Sometime in November, 1737, he determined to return to England. About the first of December, he left Savannah, in company with three other persons.

Mr. Wesley and his three companions suffered great hardships in travelling from Purrysburg to Port Royal. Not being able to procure a guide, they set out an hour before sunrise without one. The consequence was, they lost their way, and wandered in the woods till evening, without any food but part of a ginger-bread cake divided among them, and without a drop of water. At night two of the company dug with their hands about three feet deep, and found water, with which they were refreshed. They lay down together on the ground, (in December,) "And I at least," says Mr. Wesley, "slept till near six in the morning." They rose, took the rest of the ginger-bread cake, and wandered on till between one and two o'clock, before they came to any house, or obtained any further refreshment. December 6, after many difficulties and delays they came to Port Royal, and the next day walked to Beaufort, on the opposite side of the Island. Here Mr. Jones, the minister of the place, invited Mr. Wesley to his house, and gave him, as he acknowledges, a lively idea of the old English hospitality. Mr. Wesley adds, in his private Journal, "Yet observing the elegance, and more than neatness of every thing about him, I could not but sigh to myself, and say, *Heu delicatum discipulum duri Magistri!*" (†) Perhaps, this remark was more in the Mystic than in the Christian style; and, to adopt the language which Mr. Wesley sometimes used, was severely reprov'd for it, shortly after, being almost refused the necessaries of life.

(*) He thought differently afterward. He did not think that either Mr. Fletcher or Mr. Perronet, did well in not claiming their dues, as it tended to injure their successors. This also I know from himself.

(†) Alas, for the delicate discipline of a Master that endured all hardness!

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Mr. Wesley proceeds: "Early on Tuesday, December 13, we came to Charleston, where I expected trials of a quite different nature and more dangerous: contempt and hunger being easy to be borne; but who can bear respect and fulness of bread?" (*) On the 16th, he parted from his faithful friend, Mr. Delamotte, from whom he had been but a few days separate since their departure from England. On the 22d, he took his leave of America, after having preached the Gospel, as he observes, in Savannah, "not as he ought, but as he was able, for one year and nearly nine months."

Such a burning and shining light was not to be hidden in the then uncultivated wilds of Georgia. He who had *sold all* for God and his truth, and who was fitted to defend that truth against all the deceptableness of the carnal mind, with all its additional weapons of vain philosophy, or worldly prudence, was called to act in a very different sphere. And though permitted by the only wise God our Saviour, to be "*sifted as wheat*," and tried in the furnace of adversity, he was preserved and brought forth as gold, which

"Returns more pure, and brings forth all its weight."

Divine Providence was about to lead him into a field of action, in which every gift that God had given him was tried to the uttermost, and "*was found unto praise, and honor, and glory*."

Mr. Wesley says, "In 1727, my brother and I reading the Bible, saw inward and outward holiness therein, followed after it, and invited others so to do. In 1737, we saw that this holiness comes by faith, and that men are justified before they are sanctified. But still holiness was our point, *inward and outward holiness*."

In the beginning of the following May, 1738, Mr. Whitefield arrived at Savannah, where he found some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, glad to receive him. He had now an opportunity of inquiring upon the spot, into the circumstances of the late disputes, and bears testimony to the ill usage Mr. Wesley had received. When he was at Charleston, Mr. Garden acquainted him with the ill treatment Mr. Wesley had met with, and assured him, that, were the same arbitrary proceedings to commence against him, he

(*) Those who have *faith*, and who abide therein.

would defend him with life and fortune. (*) These testimonies, of persons so respectable, and capable of knowing all the circumstances of the affair, with candid persons, must do away all suspicions, with regard to the integrity of Mr. Wesley's conduct.

CHAPTER IV.

The return of MESSRS. WESLEY to England and obtaining the true Christian faith.

During Mr. Wesley's voyage to England, he entered into a close and severe examination of himself, and recorded the result with the greatest openness.

January 8, 1738, in the fulness of his heart he writes thus : " By the most infallible of proofs, inward feelings, I am convinced (1) of unbelief, having no such faith in Christ as will prevent my heart from being troubled. (2) Of pride, throughout my life past, inasmuch as I thought, I had, what I find I have not. (3) Of gross irreconciliation, inasmuch as in a storm, I cry to God every moment in a calm not. (4) Of levity and luxury of spirit; appearing by my speaking words not tending to edify; but by my manner of speaking of my enemies. Lord, save or I perish. Save me. (1) By such faith as implies peace in life and death. (2) By such humility as may fill my heart from this hour, forever with a piercing uninterrupted sense, *Nihil est quod facturus feci*. That hitherto I have done nothing. (3) By such a recollection as may enable me to cry unto thee every moment. (4) By steadiness, seriousness, sobriety of spirit, avoiding as fire every word that tendeth not to edify, and never speaking of any who oppose me, or sin against God, without all my own sins sit in array before my face.

January 13.—They had a thorough storm. On the 24th, being about 160 leagues from the Land's-end, he observes his mind was full of thought, and he wrote as follows : " I went to America to convert the Indians; but oh! who shall convert me? Who is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion; I can talk well, nay, and believe myself while no danger is near: But let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled, Nor can I say, ' *To die is gain!* '

(*) Roberts' Narrative of the life of Mr. George Whitefield, p. 53.

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" I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore !"

" I think verily if the Gospel be true, I am safe—I now believe the Gospel is true. '*I show my faith by my works,*' by staking my all upon it. I would do so again and again a thousand times, if the choice were still to make. Whoever sees me, sees I would be a Christian. Therefore '*are my ways not like other men's ways.*'—Therefore I have been, I am, I am content to be, '*a by-word, a proverb of reproach.*' But in a storm I think, what if the Gospel be not true; then thou art of all men most foolish,—O who will deliver me from this fear of death ! What shall I do ? Whereshall I fly from it ?"

January 29, 1738.—They once more saw English land : and February 1, Mr. Wesley landed at Deal ; where he was informed Mr. Whitefield had sailed the day before for Georgia. He read prayers, and explained a portion of Scripture to a large company at the inn, and, on the third, arrived safe in London.

After waiting on General Oglethorpe and the trustees of Georgia, he was invited to preach in several of the churches. He now began to be popular, appearing in a new character as a missionary, lately returned from preaching the gospel to the Indians in America. The churches where he preached were crowded : this soon produced a complaint, that there was no room for the best in the parish ; and that objection united to the offence which was given by his plain heart searching sermons, produced in each place at least the following repulsion : " Sir you must preach here no more."

That Mr. Wesley had not the true christian faith, is also manifest, from the following examination which he passed upon himself, previous to his arrival in England.

" And now," says he " it is upwards of two years since I left my native country in order to teach the Georgia Indians the nature of Christianity ; but what have I learned myself in the mean time. Why, (what I least of all suspected) that I, who went to America to convert others was never converted myself. I am not mad, though I speak thus, but speak the words of truth and soberness ; if haply, some of those who still dream may awake, and see, that as I am, so are they.

Are they read in philosophy ? so was I. In ancient or modern tongues ? so was I also. Are they versed in the science of divinity ? I too, have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently upon spiritual things ? The very same I can do. Are they plenteous in alms ? Behold, I give *all my* goods to feed the poor. Do they give of their *labour*, as well as their substance ? I have labored more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren ? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country,—I have put my life in my hand wandering into strange lands. I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched up with the heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me.

But does all this, (be it more or less it matters not) make me acceptable to God ! Does all I ever did or can know, say, give, do or suffer, justify me in his sight ? Yea or the constant use of all the means of grace, (which nevertheless is meet, right, and our bounden duty) or that I know nothing of myself, that I am as touching outward moral righteousness, blameless ? Or, (to come closer yet) the having a rational conviction of all the truths of christianity ? Does all this give a claim to the holy, heavenly divine character of a christian ? By no means, if the oracles of God are true, if we are still to abide by the law and the testimony, all these things, (though when innobled by faith in Christ they are holy and just and good yet without it they are dung and dross. This, then have I learned in the ends of the earth, that I am fallen short of the glory of God ! that my whole heart is “ altogether corrupt and abominable, and consequently, my whole life, (seeing it cannot be that an evil tree should bring forth good fruit) that my own work, my own suffering, my own righteousness, are so far from reconciling me to an offended God,—so far from making any atonement for the least of those sins, which are more in number than the hairs of my head, that the most specious of them need an atonement themselves, or they cannot abide his righteous judgment :—that having the sentence of death in my heart, and having nothing in, or of myself to plead, I have no hope, but that of being justified freely through the redemption that is in Jesus. I have no hope, but, that if I seek, I shall find the Christ and be found of him ;’ not having my own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of Christ : the righteousness which is of God by faith.”

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He observes however, "Many reasons I have to bless God; for my having been carried into that strange land, contrary to all my preceeding resolutions. Hereby, I trust he has in some measure humbled me, and proved me, and shown me what was in my heart.

Mr. C. Wesley to whom I now return, had been absent from England upwards of thirteen months. During this time he had passed through an uncommon series of difficulties. When he arrived in London, his friends received him with inexpressible joy—a report having been spread, that the ship in which he came had been seen to sink at sea. One lady he found, when he called upon her, who was reading an account of his death.

It appears from Mr. C. Wesley's journal, that most of the trustees for Georgia, were Dissenters. They have given us an unequivocal proof, that the dissenters at that time possessed great liberality of sentiment, or they would not have approved of the nomination of the two Mr. Wesley's—men avowedly of very high church principles, to go and preach the Gospel in Georgia, especially as their father had been so public an opposer of the dissenting interest.

December 7.—One of the trustees called on Mr. C. Wesley; the latter observes, "We had much conversation of Georgia, and of my brothers persecution among that stiff necked people. He seems a truly pious humble christian, full of zeal for God, and the love of man."

In August, Mr. C. Wesley was requested to carry up the address from the University of Oxford to His Majesty. Accordingly, on the 26th he waited on the King with the address at Hampton Court, accompanied with a few friends. They were graciously received, and the Arch Bishop told him he was glad to see him there. They kissed their Majesties hands and were invited to dinner. Mr. Wesley left the dinner and the company, and hastened back to town. The next day, he waited on the Prince of Wales, and dined at St. James'. So we see he was still an honorable man. But he was not satisfied with his present state. On the 31st of August he consulted Mr. Law: the sum of whose advice was, "Renounce yourself, and be not impatient." This was very good advice in order to wait for faith, but very bad, if to rest without it.

In the beginning of February, 1738, about the time Mr. John Wesley returned from Georgia, Peter Boehler arrived in England. He soon became acquainted with the two brothers, and, on the 20th of this month, prevailed with Mr. Charles Wesley to assist him in learning English. He was now at Oxford, and Boehler soon entered into some close conversation with him, and with some scholars who were serious, and who could converse in Latin. He pressed upon them the necessity of Gospel faith: He showed them, that many who had been awakened had fallen asleep again, for want of attaining to it.—He spoke much of the necessity of prayer and faith, but none of them seemed to understand him.

Mr. John Wesley had now also become acquainted with Peter Boehler. On the 7th of February, (“a day,” he observes in his Journal, “much to be remembered,”) he met that gentleman and two other teachers of the Moravian Church. He had supposed, that a strict and self-denying regard to the duties which he owed to God and man, would produce in him the true Christian faith. In this he was painfully disappointed. He told me, that, together with *those fruits meet for repentance*, he had given himself a fortnight to root out of his heart each of the spiritual evils which he discovered therein,—pride, anger, self-will, &c.; but found, at the end of the prescribed time, that his enemy still retained possession, and seemed even to increase in strength. He well noted this in his sermon, before the University on *Salvation by faith*. “Can you empty the great deep, drop by drop?” &c. No: our present salvation depends much more on what we receive, than on what we do. He now began to feel something of this poverty of spirit.

He now went to see his brother Samuel and some other friends, and afterwards took a longer journey. He returned to Oxford. Here he again conversed largely with Peter Boehler, and by “him,” said he, “in the hand of the Great God, I was clearly convinced of the want of that faith, whereby alone we are saved.”

Mr. Wesley had observed at sea, and in America, that many of the Moravian brethern enjoyed a peace and a comfort in their minds, to which he was a stranger. He was now therefore prepared to hear what those messengers of God had to say on the nature of faith, and

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on the way of obtaining it. But though he was a sincere enquirer after faith, and therefore said both to God and man, "What I know not teach thou me," yet in point of such importance he would say,

"Not to man, but God submit."

and therefore he made continual objections, which caused his friend to reply more than once, "*Mi frater, Mi frater, excoquenda est ista tria philosophia.*" My brother, My brother, that philosophy of yours must be purged away. The reproach which he formally endured at Oxford, now again revived, and even as he walked through the squares at the colleges, he was mocked and laughed at. Upon one of those occasions, as Mr. Wesley informed me, the stranger perceiving that Mr. Wesley was troubled at it, chiefly for his sake said with a smile, '*Mi frater, non adhæceret vestibus,*' My brother, it does not even stick to our clothes,

Immediately he felt an inclination to leave off preaching. "How," thought he, "can I preach to others, who have not faith myself?"—He asked his friend, whether he should leave it off or not. "By no means," said he, "preach faith *till* you have it; and then *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith."

But a difficulty still remained: How is this faith given? He had now no objection to what his friend said of the *nature* of Christian faith; that it is to use the words of the Church of England, *a sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that, through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he is reconciled to the favor of God.* "Neither," said he, "could I deny either the happiness or holiness which he described, as fruits of this living faith. Those passages of Scripture, '*The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God:* And '*He that believeth hath the witness in himself,*' fully convinced me of the former: As '*Whatsoever is born of God doth not commit sin;*' and '*Whatsoever believeth is born of God,*' did of the latter. But I could not comprehend what he spoke of an *instantaneous work*. I could not understand how this faith should be given in a moment: how a man could at *once* be thus turned from darkness to light,—from sin and misery to righteousness and joy in the Holy Ghost. I searched the Scriptures again, touching this very

thing, particularly the Acts of the Apostles; but, to my utter astonishment, found scarce any instances there of other than *instantaneous* conversions; scarce any other so slow as that of St. Paul, who was three days in the pangs of the new birth. I had but *one* retreat left, viz. 'Thus, I grant, God wrought in the *first* ages of Christianity; but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe he works in the same manner now?' "

"But," proceeds he, "I was beat out of this retreat too, by the concurring evi-
lence of several living witnesses; who testified God had thus wrought in themselves; giving them, in a moment, such a faith in the blood of his Son, as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, 'Lord help thou my unbelief!'"

He proceeds, "I asked P. Boehler again, Whether I ought not to refrain from teaching others? He said, 'No; do not hide in the earth the talent God has given you.' Accordingly I spoke clearly and fully at Blendon to Mr. Delamotte's family, of the nature and fruits of Christian faith. Mr. Broughton and my brother were there. Mr. Bronghton's great objection was, 'He could never think that I had not faith, who had done and suffered such things.' My brother was very angry, and told me, 'I did not know what mischief I had done by talking thus.' And indeed it did please God then to kindle a fire which I trust shall never be extinguished."

He now declared every where "*the faith as it is in Jesus*:" "a strange doctrine," says he, "which some, who did not care to contradict it, (for indeed how could they without both denying the Bible and the Church of England?) yet knew not what to make of it. But some who were thoroughly bruised by sin, willingly heard and received it gladly."

March 27, 1738.—About this time he began to pray extempore. On a certain occasion; he says, "We prayed first in several forms of prayer, and then in such words as were given us in that hour."

Mr. Wesley again observes, that on Saturday, April 1, being at Mr. Foxe's society, he found his heart so full, that he could not confine himself to the forms of prayer they were accustomed to use

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there. "Neither," says he, "do I purpose to be confined to them any more ; but to pray indifferently, with a form or without, as I may find suitable to particular occasions." When God gives the spirit of prayer deliverance is near.

Mr. Wesley and Mr. Broughton having returned to London, Mr. C. Wesley began to read Haliburton's life. It produced in him great humiliation, self-abasement, and a sense of his want of that faith which brings "*righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.*" But these effects soon passed away as a morning cloud. A degree of conviction, however, that possibly he might be wrong, had taken hold of his mind, and continued to make him uneasy. This uneasiness was increased by a return of his disorder on the 28th, when he arrived in London. Here Peter Boehler visited him again, and prayed with him. Mr. Charles Wesley now thought it was his duty to consider Boehler's doctrine, and to examine himself whether he was in the faith ; and if not, never to rest till he had attained it. Still, however, there was a secret wish within his heart, that this new doctrine, as he then thought it, might not be true ; and hence arose a joy when he imagined he had found an argument against it. This argument was from his own experience, and he deemed it unanswerable. Having received benefit by bleeding, he attended the sacrament on the first of May, and felt a degree of peace in receiving it. "Now," said he to himself, "I have demonstration against the Moravian doctrine, viz. that a man cannot have peace without assurance of his pardon. I now have peace, yet cannot say of a surety that my sins are forgiven." His triumph was very short : His peace immediately left him, and he sunk into greater doubts and distress than before. He now began to be convinced, that he had not that faith which puts the true believer in possession of the benefits and privileges of the Gospel. For some days following, he had a faint desire to attain it, and prayed for it. He then began to speak of the necessity of this faith to his friends ; and he determined not to rest till he had the happy experience of it in himself.

May 17.—Mr. C. Wesley first saw "LUTHER on the Galatians," which Mr. Holland had accidentally met with. They immediately began to read to him : "And my friend," adds Mr. C. Wesley, "was

so affected in hearing him read, that he breathed sighs and groans unutterable. I also marvelled that we were so soon, and entirely removed from him that called us into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel. Who would believe, that our Church had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone? (*) I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our Articles and Homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away. From this time I endeavoured to ground as many of our friends as came to see me, in this fundamental truth,—*Salvation by faith alone*—not an idle and dead faith, but a faith which works by love, and is incessantly productive of all good works, and all holiness."

Mr. C. Wesley's knowledge of himself, and conscious want of peace with God, on a foundation that cannot be shaken, furnished him with a key which opened the true meaning of the Scriptures. He saw the gospel contained ample provision for all his wants, and that its operation on the mind is also admirably adapted to the human faculties. He now lost the pride of literature, and sought *the Kingdom of heaven as a little child*: He counted all things as dung and dross in comparison of it; and all his thoughts, his desires, his hopes, his fears, had some relation to it. He was now brought to the birth. On Witsunday 21st, he waked in hope and expectation of soon attaining the object of his wishes,—the knowledge of God reconciled in Christ Jesus. At nine o'clock his brother and some friends came to him, and sung a hymn suited to the day. When they left him, he betook himself to prayer. Soon afterward a person came and said, in a very solemn manner, "Believe in the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and thou shalt be healed of all thine infirmities." The words went through his heart, and animated him with confidence. He looked into the Scripture, and read, "*Now, Lord, what is my hope? truly my hope is even with thee.*" He then cast his eyes on these words, "*he hath put a new song into my mouth, even a thanksgiving unto our God; many shall see it and fear, and put their*

(*) Mr. C. Wesley did not then see the nature of Antinomianism in that work, the infernal shadow that has ever followed the true faith. Of this, Luther was not himself conscious when he wrote that book,

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trust in the Lord." Afterwards he opened upon Isaiah xi. 1, "*comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God, speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins.*" In reading these passages of Scripture, he was enabled to view Christ as "*set forth in propitiation for his sins, through faith in his blood,*" and received to his unspeakable comfort, that peace and rest in God, which he had so earnestly sought.

The two brothers were now led to pray according to their wants, and the exercises of their own minds; but they were greatly censured by some persons, particularly by their brother Samuel, when they began this practice. That a form of prayer may be useful, and also proper on some occasions, especially in public worship, we readily grant. But to say, that we shall not ask a favor of God, nor return him thanks, or that we shall hold no intercourse with him in our public assemblies, but in a set of words dictated to us by others, is an assumption which is not warranted either by Scripture or reason, and it is ill adapted to edification or comfort.

An old friend soon after called on Mr. Charles Wesley, under great apprehensions that he was running mad. His fears were not a little increased, when he heard him speak of some instances of the power and goodness of God. His friend told him that he expected to see rays of light round his head! and said a good deal more in the same strain. Finding, by Mr. C. Wesley's conversation, that he was past recovery, he begged him to fly from London, and took his leave in despair of doing him any good.

May 23.—He wrote a hymn on his own conversion. Upon showing it to Mr. Bray, a thought was suggested to his mind, that he had done wrong, and displeased God. His heart immediately sunk within him; but the shock lasted only for a moment. "I clearly discerned," says he, "it was a device of the enemy to keep glory from God. It is most usual with him to preach humility, when speaking would endanger his kingdom and do honor to Christ. Least of all, would he have us tell *what God has done for our souls.* so tenderly does he guard us against pride! But God has showed me that he can defend

me from it, while speaking for him. In his name, therefore, and through his strength, will I perform my vows unto the Lord, of '*not hiding his righteousness within my heart.*' "

Mr. John Wesley, although not yet a partaker of it, continued to declare "*the faith as it is in Jesus,*" which those that were convinced of sin gladly received. A day or two following, he was much confirmed in the truth, by hearing the experience of Mr. Hutchins, of Pembroke College, and Mrs. Fox: "Two living witnesses," says he, "that God *can*, at least, if he *does* not always give that faith whereof cometh salvation, in a moment, as lightening falling from heaven."

. May, 1.—They began to form themselves into a religious Society which met in Fetter Lane; this has been called the first Methodist Society in London. Mr. Wesley distinguished the origin of Methodism in three distinct periods: "The first rise of Methodism," says he, "was in November 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford. The second was in Savannah, in April 1736. The last in London on this day, when forty or fifty of us agree to meet together every Wednesday evening, in order to have free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer."(*)

Although he united with the Moravians thus, he still continued a member, and minister of the Church. [of England.] This meeting was merely a religious society, and so agreed perfectly with Methodism.

The Society being thus formed, they agreed in obedience to the word of God given by St. James, v, 16.

1.—And that they would meet once a week to confess their faults one to another, and pray one for another, that they might be healed.

2.—That the persons so meeting, be divided into several bands or little companies, none of them consisting of fewer than five, or more than ten persons.

3.—That every one in order should speak freely, plainly, and concisely as he could, the real state of his heart, with his several temptations and deliverances since the last meeting.

(*) Wesley's Eccl. Hist. Vol. iv. p. 175.

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4.—That all the bands should have a conference at eight every Wednesday evening, begun and ended with singing and prayer.

5.—That any who desired to be admitted into this Society, should be asked what are your reasons for desiring this : will you be entirely open, using no kind of reserve ? Have you any objections to any of our orders ? (which may then be read.)

6.—That when any new member was proposed, every one present should speak clearly and freely, whatever objection he might have against him.

7.—That those against whom no reasonable objection appeared, should be in order for their trial, formed into one or more distinct bands, and some person agreed on to assist them.

8.—That after two months' trial if no objection then appear, they should be admitted into the Society.

9.—That every fourth Sunday should be observed as a day of general intercession.

10.—That on the Sunday sevensnight following, there should be a general love-feast from seven till ten in the evening.

11.—That no particular member should be allowed to act in any thing contrary to any order of the Society, and that if any person after being thrice admonished, should not conform thereunto, they should no longer be esteemed as members.

About this time he was invited to preach in some of the Churches. But, as before, many (particularly of the chief persons in his congregations,) would not endure his plain, heart-searching discourses. He was soon told at each of these also, " Sir, you must preach here no more."

He also was now brought to the birth. "*His soul truly waited upon God,*" knowing that "*from him cometh our salvation.*" But so much the more did he "*abhor himself and repent as in dust and ashes.*" As he now expected, that Christ, given for him, would be manifested in him, he also felt that compunction, that deep self-abasement, which must ever precede true living faith in the son of God. His state of mind at this time he thus pathetically expresses, in the following letter to a friend :

" O why is it, that so great, so wise, so holy a God, will use such

an instrument as me ! Lord, '*let the dead bury their dead.*' But wilt thou send the dead to raise the dead ? Yea, thou sendest whom thou *wilt* send, and showest mercy by whom thou *wilt* show mercy ! Amen ! Be it then according to thy will ! If thou speak the word, Judas shall cast out devils.

"I feel what you say, (though not enough,) for I am under the same condemnation. I see that the whole law of God is holy, just and good. I know every thought, every temper of my soul ought to bear God's image and superscription. But how have I fallen from the glory of God ! I feel, that I '*am sold under sin.*' I know, that I too deserve nothing but wrath, being full of all abominations, and having no good thing in me, to atone for them, or to remove the wrath of God. So that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy, I am unholy. God is a consuming fire : I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed.

"Yet I hear a voice, (and is it not the voice of God ?) saying, '*Believe, and thou shalt be saved. He that believeth is passed from death unto life. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.*' (*)

"O let no one deceive us by vain words, as if we had already attained this faith ! By its fruits we shall know. Do we already feel, '*peace with God,*' and *joy in the Holy Ghost* ? Does his '*Spirit bear witness with our spirit, that we are children of God* ? Alas ! with mine it does not. Nor, I fear, with yours. O thou Saviour of men, save us from trusting in any thing but Thee ! Draw us after Thee ! Let us be emptied of ourselves, and then fill us with "*all peace and joy in believing,*" and let nothing separate us from thy love, in time or in eternity !"

The account which immediately follows, is of such deep importance, that I am constrained to give it entire in his own words. Mr. Wesley's actual obtaining the true *faith of the Gospel*, is a point of the utmost magnitude, not only with respect to himself but to others. For

(*) He was now *poor in spirit*, and therefore *the kingdom of Heaven was his*. He was soon put in possession. The Lord could now, in truth, *impute his faith for righteousness*.

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it was not till after this that God was pleased to own him in such a remarkable manner in the salvation of souls, as were evidenced in his future labors.

"What occurred on Wednesday, *May 24*, I think best to relate at large, after premising what may make it better understood. Let him that cannot receive it, ask of the father of Lights, that he would give more light to him and me.

"I believe, till I was about ten years old, I had not sinned away that '*washing of the Holy Ghost*,' which was given me in baptism, having been strictly educated and carefully taught, that I could not be saved by universal obedience, by keeping all the commandments of God; in the meaning of which I was diligently instructed. And those instructions, so far as they respected outward duties and signs, I gladly received and often thought of. But all that was said to me of inward obedience, or holiness, I neither understood nor remembered. So that I indeed was as ignorant of the true meaning of the Law, as I was of the Gospel of Christ.

"The next six or seven years were spent at school? where outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before, even of outward duties; and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However, I still read the scriptures, and said my prayers, morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by, was—(1.) Not being so bad as other people. (2.) Having still a kindness for religion. And (3.) Reading the Bible, going to Church, and saying my prayers.

"Being removed to the University, for five years I still said my prayers, both in public and in private, and read with the Scriptures several other books of religion, especially comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not, all this while, so much as a notion of inward holiness; nay, went on habitually, and (for the most part) very contentedly, in some or other known sin; indeed, with some intermissions and short struggles, especially before and after the Holy Communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a year. I cannot well tell what I hoped to be saved by now, when I was continually sinning

against that little light I had, unless by those transient fits of what many divines taught me to call *repentance*.

"When I was about twenty two, my father pressed me to enter into Holy Orders. At the same time the Providence of God directing me to Kempis's Christian Pattern, I began to see, that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was however, very angry at Kempis, for being *too strict*, though I read him only in Dean Stanhope's translation. Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before; and meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of my conversation, and to set in earnest upon a *new life*. I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. I communicated every week. I watched against all sin, whether in word or deed. I began to aim at and pray for inward holiness. So that now, doing so much, and living so good a life, I doubted not but I was a good Christian.

"Removing soon after to another College, I executed a resolution, which, I was before convinced, was of the utmost importance, shaking off at once all my trifling acquaintance. I began to see more and more the value of time. I applied myself closer to study. I watched more carefully against actual sins. I advised others to be religious, according to that scheme of religion by which I modelled my own life. But meeting now with Mr. Law's '*Christian Perfection and Serious Call*,' (although I was much offended at many parts of both, yet) they convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height and breadth and depth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that every thing appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help, and resolved not to prolong the time of obeying him, as I had never done before: And, by my continued endeavor to keep his whole law, inward and outward, to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation.

"1730, I began visiting the prisons, assisting the poor and sick in town, and doing what other good I could by my presence or my little fortune, to the bodies and souls of all men. To this end I abridged

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myself of all superfluities, and many that are called necessities of life. I soon became a by-word for so doing, and I rejoiced that my name was cast out as evil. The next spring I began observing the Wednesday and Friday fasts, commonly observed in the ancient church, taking no food till three in the afternoon. And now I knew not how to go any farther. I diligently strove against all sin. I omitted no sort of self-denial which I thought lawful. I carefully used, both in public and private, all the means of grace at all opportunities. I omitted no occasion of doing good: I, for that reason, suffered evil: and all this I knew to be nothing, unless as it was directed toward inward holiness. Accordingly this, the image of God, was what I aimed at in all, by doing his will, not my own. Yet when, after continuing some years in this course, I apprehended myself to be near death, I could not find that all this gave me any comfort, or any assurance of acceptance with God. At this I was then not a little surprised, not imagining I had been all this time building on the sand, nor considering that '*other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid by God, even Christ Jesus.*'

"Soon after, a contemplative man convinced me still more than I was convinced before, that outward works are nothing, being alone; and, in several conversations instructed me how to pursue inward holiness, or a union of the soul with God. But even of his instructions, (though I then received them as the words of God,) I cannot but now observe—(1.) That he spoke so incautiously against *trusting in outward works*, that he discouraged me from *doing* them at all. (2.) That he recommended, (as it were, to supply what was wanting in them,) *mental prayer*, and the like exercises, as the most effectual means of purifying the soul and uniting it with God. Now these were, in truth, as much *my own works* as visiting the sick or clothing the naked; and the *union with God* thus pursued, was as really *my own righteousness* as any I had before pursued under another name.

"In this *refined* way of trusting to my own works and my own righteousness, (so zealously inculcated by the Mystic writers,) I dragged on heavily, finding no comfort or help therein, till the time of my leaving England. On shipboard, however, I was again active in outward works, where it pleased God, of his free mercy, to

give the twenty-six of the Moravian brethren for companions, who endeavoured to show me a more excellent way. But I understood it not at first : I was too learned and too wise : So that it seemed foolishness unto me. And I continued preaching and following after and trusting in that righteousness, whereby no flesh can be justified.

" All the time I was at Savannah, I was thus '*beating the air.*' Being ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, which, by a living faith in him, bringeth salvation '*to every one that believeth.*' I sought to establish my own righteousness, and so labored in the fire all my days. I was now properly '*under the law ;*' I knew that the law of God was spiritual ; I consented to it that it was good ; yea, I delighted in it '*after the inner man.*' Yet was I '*carnal, sold under sin.*' Every day was I constrained to cry out, '*What I do, I allow not ; for what I would, I do not ; but what I hate, that I do. To will, is indeed, present with me : but how to perform that which is good, I find not : For the good which I would ; I do not ; but the evil which I would not, that I do. I find a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me ; even the law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and still bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.*'"(*)

" In this state I was, indeed, fighting continually, but not conquering. Before, I had willingly served sin ; now, it was unwillingly, but still I served it. I fell and rose, and fell again. Sometimes I was overcome and in heaviness ; sometimes I overcame and was in joy : For, as in the former state, I had some foretaste of the terrors of the law, so had I in this of the comforts of the Gospel. During this whole struggle between nature and grace, (which had now continued above ten years,) I had many remarkable returns to prayer, especially when I was in trouble ; I had many sensible comforts, which, indeed, are no other than short anticipations of the life of faith. But I was still '*under the law,*' not '*under grace ;*' the state which most who are called Christians are content to live and die in : For I was only striving with, not freed from sin : neither had I '*the witness of the Spirit with my spirit,* and, indeed, could

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not ; for ' *I saught it not by faith, but,*' as it were, ' *by the works of the law.*'

" In my return to England, January, 1738, being in imminent danger of death, and very uneasy on that account; I was strongly convinced, that the cause of that uneasiness was unbelief, and that the gaining a true living faith was the *one thing needful* for me. But still I fixed not this faith on its right object : I meant only faith in God, not faith in or through Christ. Again, I knew not that I was wholly void of this faith, but only thought I had not enough of it. So that, when Peter Boehler, whom God prepared for me as soon as I came to London, affirmed of true faith in Christ, which is but one, that it had those two fruits inseparably attending it, ' Dominion over sin, and constant peace from a sense of forgiveness,' I was quite amazed, and looked upon it as a new Gospel. If this was so, it was clear I had not faith. But I was not willing to be convinced of this : Therefore, I disputed with all my might, and labored to prove, that faith might be where these were not, espically where the sense of forgiveness was not : For all the Scriptures relating to this, I had been long since taught to construe away, and to call all Presbyterians who spoke otherwise. Besides, I well saw no one could, in the nature of things, have such a sense of forgiveness and not feel it : but I felt it not. If then there was no faith without this, all my pretensions to faith dropped at once.

" When I met Peter Boehler again, he consented to put the dispute upon the issue which I desired, viz : Scripture and experience. I first consulted the Scripture. But when I set aside the glosses of men, and simply considered the words of God, comparing them together, endeavouring to illustrate the obscure by the plainer passages, I found they all made against me, and was forced to retreat to my last hold, " that experience would never agree with the *literal interpretation* of those Scriptures; nor could I therefore, allow it to be true, till I found some living witnesses of it." He replied, " He could show me such at any time; if I desired it, the next day." And, accordingly, the next day he came again with three others, all of whom testified of their own personal experience, that a true living faith in Christ is inseparable from a sense of pardon for all past, and freedom from all

present sins. They added with one mouth, that this faith was the gift, the free gift of God, and that he would surely bestow it upon every soul, who earnestly and perseveringly sought it. I was now thoroughly convinced; and, by the grace of God, I resolved to seek it unto the end. (1.) By absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon my own works or righteousness, on which I had really grounded my hope of salvation, though I knew it not, from my youth up. (2.) By adding to the constant use of all the other means of grace, continual prayer for this very thing, justifying, saving faith, a full reliance on the blood of Christ shed for me; a trust in him as *my* Christ, as *my* sole justification, sanctification, and redemption.

"I continued thus to seek it, (though with strange indifference, dullness, and coolness, and unusually frequent relapses into sin,) till Wednesday, May 24. I think it was about five this morning, that I opened my Testament on those words, '*There are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises, that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature.*' 2 Pet. i. 4. Just as I went out, I opened it again on these words, '*Thou art not far from the kingdom of God.*' In the afternoon, I was asked to go to St. Paul's. The Anthem was, '*Out of the deep have I called unto thee, O Lord; Lord, hear my voice. O let thine ears consider well the voice of my complaint. If thou, Lord, wilt be extreme to mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? But there is mercy with thee, therefore thou shalt be feared. O Israel, trust in the Lord; for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is plenteous redemption: And He shall redeem Israel from all his sins.*'

"In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, *I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.*"

His soul now magnified the Lord, and his spirit rejoiced in God his Saviour.—Because he was a son, God sent forth the spirit of his

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son into his heart, crying, *Aba Father: The Spirit itself bearing witness with his spirit, that he was a child of God.—The love of God was shed abroad in his heart, by the Holy Ghost given unto him.—And he rejoiced in God, by whom he had now received the atonement.*

Now that he was a child of God, he brought forth *‘the fruit of the Spirit;’* as soon as he was thus enabled to love God, he loved every child of man. “Immediately” says he, “I began to pray with all my might for those who had in a more especial manner spitefully used me and persecuted me! And in this thankful, loving, happy frame of mind he continued, believing in God, and zealous of good works.—

His heart was now enlarged to declare, as he never had before, the loving-kindness of the Lord. “*It was his meat and drink, to do his holy and acceptable will.—The word of God dwelt richly in him,*” and was in his mouth as “*a sharp two edged sword*” to the wicked; but to those who felt the anguish of a “*wounded spirit,*” who had “*turned at God’s reproof,*” he was “*an able minister of the New Testament, holding forth the word of life,*” that they also might “*rejoice in God—their Saviour.*”

But he also experienced what it was to be weak in this faith, a little child, according to St. John, as well as afterward to “*be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.*” He was often in heaviness through manifold temptations. Sometimes fear came suddenly upon him; fear, that he had deceived himself, and stopped short of that grace of God for which he had sought. At other times, letters which he received from injudicious persons concerning the New-Birth, and the fruits of Christian faith, exceedingly troubled him. Few helped, and many strove (most of them ignorantly) to hinder him: to cause him to cast “*away that confidence which hath great recompence of reward.*” But the Lord, who had “*brought him up out of the horrible pit*” of guilt and unbelief, suffered not his tender new-born spirit to faint before him. He often lifted up his head with joy and girded him with strength.

Under these various circumstances of mind, he determined to retire for a short time to Germany. “I had fully purposed,” says he, “before I left Georgia, so to do, if it should please God to bring me

back to Europe. And now I clearly saw that the time was come."

Accordingly having taken leave of his mother, he embarked at Gravesend accompanied by Mr. Ingham, on Thursday morning, June 15, and landed off Rotterdam.

On his journey through Holland and Germany, he conversed with many who were happy partakers of the faith of the gospel, by whom he was hospitably entertained. He first conversed with Count Zinzendorf, Count de Solmes, and other eminent persons of Marienbourn, and with a large company of witnesses to the power of true religion. In their way to Hurnhuth, he and his company were stopped at the city of Wymar, and brought before Frederick, (afterwards King of Prussia) then Prince Royal, as Mr. Wesley was informed. The Prince among other enquiries, asked him "What are you going so far as Hurnhuth for?" Mr Wesley answered, "To see where the Christians live." The Prince then looked hard at them and let them go.

On Tuesday, the first of August, they arrived at Hurnhuth, a settlement of the Moravians, in Upper Lusatia. The inhabitants of this place, were at least, in the general, truly pious persons, who came from many parts of Europe to escape the pollution of the world, and live wholly to God. No immorality was allowed among them, and every thing that tended to genuine religion, was introduced and earnestly enforced. In this place, Mr. Wesley conversed with several persons that were deeply experienced in the ways of God. He also heard some of them preach, and was thereby abundantly strengthened in the grace of God. He speaks particularly of the benefits he received, by the conversation of Michael Linner, the chief Elder of the church, and Christian David, who was, under God, the first planter of it.

"Gladly," says he, "would I have spent my life here, but my master called me to labour in another part of his vineyard. On Monday, August 14, 1738, I was constrained to take my leave of this happy place." On his departure, he makes this reflection: "O when shall this christianity cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea." After visiting professor Franck, at Halle, (son of the great professor Franck) and viewing the school of Jena founded by Bud-

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dæus, he arrived at Rotterdam, where he took ship and sailed for England.

While Mr. J. Wesley, was seeking spiritual strength among the believers in Germany, his brother Charles was maintaining "the good fight of faith" among the formalists and unbelievers at home. He had obtained satisfactory evidence that he was a pardoned sinner, accepted of God in Christ Jesus, and quickened by his spirit. He grew stronger daily in faith, and more zealous for God and the salvation of men, great power accompanying his exhortations and prayers. One evening after family prayer he expounded the lesson, and one of the servants testified her faith in Christ, and peace with God. A short time afterward the Gardener was made a happy partaker of the same blessing.

Upon Mr. John Wesley's arrival in London, it was his desire to preach in a church, rather than any other place. But this he seldom could do. The same obstructions were in the way that had before shut the doors of so many churches against him. Rather, the offence was now increased: the people flocked to hear him more than ever.—Present salvation by faith, which he now preached every where with zeal, though a principal doctrine of the church of England, was little understood and less approved. But as he had the will, so the providence of God gave him the means of testifying the Gospel. His own little society was now increased to thirty two persons; and many other religious communities, in various parts of the town, received him gladly. Newgate was not yet shut against him. He made excursions into the country, also visited Oxford, and preached to the prisoners in the castle. Being thus, to use St. Paul's words, "*instant in season, and out of season*," embracing every opportunity that offered, of publicly declaring the truth, and of enforcing it also, in every company, and to every individual with whom he conversed; it could not be, but many reports would be spread concerning him, in every place. The effect, as of old, was "*some said, He is a good man; and others said, nay, but he deceiveth the people: And the multitude was divided.*"

The points he chiefly insisted on, were four: **FIRST**, That orthodoxy, (or right opinions,) is, at best, but a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part of it at all: That neither

does religion consist of *negatives*, in bare harmlessness of any kind: nor merely in *externals*, doing good, or using the means of grace, in works of piety, (so called,) or of charity: That it is nothing short of, or different from, "*the mind that was in Christ*," the image of God stamped upon the heart, inward righteousness attended with "*the peace of God*," and "*joy in the Holy Ghost*."—SECONDLY, That the only way under heaven to this religion, is, to "*repent and believe the Gospel*," or (as the Apostle words it,) "*repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*."—THIRDLY, That by this faith, "*he that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is imputed for righteousness*:" He is "*justified freely by his grace, through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ*."—And, LASTLY, That "*being justified by faith*," we taste of the heaven to which we are going; we are holy and happy; we tread down sin and fear, and "*sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus*."

Many of those who heard this, began to cry out, that he brought strange things to their ears; that this was a doctrine which they never heard before, or, at least, never regarded. "*They searched the Scriptures, whether these things were so*;" and acknowledged "*the truth as it is in Jesus*." Their hearts also were influenced, as well as their understandings, and they determined to follow "*Jesus Christ, and him crucified*."

Hearing that Mr. Whitfield was returned from Georgia, he hastened to London to meet him, and they once more took sweet counsel together. A few other clergymen now united with them, being convinced that the *New Doctrine*, vulgarly called *Methodism*, was indeed the old doctrine of the Bible, and of the church of England.

An instance of the fervency of this little band of Christian soldiers, will not perhaps be unpleasing. Being assembled together with several others on the 1st of January, 1738, they continued in prayer till the night was far spent. "About three in the morning," says he, "the power of God came mightily upon us, insomuch that many cried out for exceeding joy, and many fell to the ground. As soon as we were recovered a little from that awe and amazement at the presence of his Majesty, we broke out with one voice, '*We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord*.'"

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To awaken a drowsy, careless world, sunk in sin and sensuality, the Lord at this time was pleased to work in an extraordinary manner. In several places, while Mr. Wesley was expounding the Scriptures, many persons trembled and fell down before him. Some cried aloud, and others appeared convulsed as in the agonies of death. Many of these were afterwards eminent possessors of the holiness and happiness of religion, and declared, that they had at the time above mentioned such a deep sense of the dreadful nature of sin, and of the just wages of it, that they were constrained to cry aloud for the disquietude of their heart. In others the change which the Scripture speaks of, as evidencing a true conversion, was not so apparent. While in some, neither godly sorrow for sin, peace or joy in believing, nor any real change of heart and life, followed the impressions which were then made upon them.

Mr. Wesley at this time maturely compared these appearances of things with the word of God, and especially with the work of the Spirit of God on the souls of men as described in the word. He thereby clearly saw, that every religious pang, much less any enthusiastic conceit must not be taken for true conversion. At the same time he perceived, from several passages both of the Old and New Testament, that the operations of the Spirit of God have occasionally produced such lively and powerful actings of the passions of fear, sorrow, joy and love, as must necessarily have caused at the time considerable agitations of the body. He also knew that several of the Fathers of the church in the three first centuries, spoke often of such a work among the people.

Nor was he ignorant, that in our own land, since the Reformation, when the violations of the laws of God, the atonement of Christ, and the remission of sins have been preached with "*the demonstration of the Spirit and of power*," such impressions have been made thereby, in innumerable instances, that even the body seemed to fall before them. (*)

(*) The instance of that learned, laborious, and successful minister of the church of England, Mr. Bolton, is well known. He was awakened by the preaching of the celebrated Mr. Perkins in the University of Cambridge; and was affected with such terrors, as caused him to throw himself on the ground, and roar with inexpressible anguish; yea, sometimes he lay pale and senseless like one that was dead.

Yet that it is certain, that throughout the whole of his life, he wished that all things should be done, even in the opinion of men, decently and in order. But he had one only design, which was to bring men to that knowledge and love of God, which makes them holy and happy : Useful in their lives, and peaceful in their death. He therefore thankfully acquiesced in every means which the Lord was pleased to use for the accomplishment of this great end. And when he saw those extraordinary effects accompanied by a godly sorrow for sin, and earnest desires to be delivered from it ; when he saw men deeply convinced of the want of a Saviour, and this conviction followed by humble loving faith in the Son of God, enabling them to walk worthy of the Lord who had called them to his kingdom and glory, he therein rejoiced : Nor could the imprudent zeal of a few, or the noise and confusion which sometimes attended this extraordinary work, cause him to relax in his efforts to turn men *"from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God."*

The reasoning of a writer of that day, by no means prejudiced in his favor, is well worthy of consideration. "What influence," says he, "sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body, I pretend not to explain. But I make no question, Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction."

The progress of Mr C Wesley previous to this time, remains to be noted. We have seen that he had been diligent in his Master's service, though as yet he had not been able to preach. On Sunday, July 2, 1738, he observes, "Being to preach this morning for the first time, I received strength for the work of the ministry. Observing a woman full of Reverence, I asked her if she had forgiveness of sins. She answered with great sweetness and humility, 'Yes, I know it now, that I have forgiveness.'" Nothing short of this could now satisfy him as a guide to souls.

"I preached again at London Wall without fear or weariness. As I was going into the church, a woman caught hold of my hand and blessed me most heartily, telling me she had received forgiveness,

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while I was preaching in the morning. In the evening, they held a meeting for prayer, when two other persons found peace with God."

Mr. Sparks asked him if he would preach at St Hellen's. He agreed to supply Mr. Broughton's place, who was at Oxford, "arming our friends," says Mr. C. Wesley, "against the faith." He adds—"I preached faith in Christ to a vast congregation with great boldness, adding much extempore" Mr. C. Wesley proposed the doctrines of the Gospel with clearness, and illustrated them with great strength from the scriptures, in which he was mighty.

July 12, he preached at Newgate to the condemned fellows. He visited one of them in his cell, sick of a fever—a poor black who had robbed his master. "I told him" says Mr. C. Wesley, "of one who came down from Heaven to save lost sinners, and him in particular. I described the sufferings of the Son of God—his sorrow, agony and death. He listened with all the signs of eager astonishment. The tears trickling down his cheeks while he cried, "What, was it for me?" I left him waiting for the salvation of God.

July 14, I received the sacrament from the Ordinary, and spoke strongly to the malefactors, and to the sick Negro in the condemned hole. I was moved by his sorrow and earnest desire of Jesus Christ.

The next day, July 15, I preached there again with an enlarged heart, and rejoiced with my poor Black, who now believes that the Son of God loves him and gave himself for him.

July 17, I preached at Newgate, on death, which the Malefactors must suffer the day after to-morrow. At one o'clock I was with the Black in the cell. When more of the malefactors came to us, I found great help and power in prayer, for them. One of them rose, all in a sweat with the agitation of his mind, and professed faith in Christ. I found myself overwhelmed with the love of Christ to sinners.

July 18. The Ordinary read prayers, and preached. I administered the sacrament to the Black and eight more." In the evening Mr. C. Wesley and Mr. Bray were locked in the cells. "We wrestled," says he, "in mighty prayer. All the criminals were present and cheerful. The soldier in particular, found his comfort and joy in-

creased every moment. Another, from the time he communicated, has been in perfect peace—joy was visible in all their faces. We sang

Behold the Saviour of mankind,
Nailed to the shameful tree;
How vast that love that him inclined,
To bleed and die for me.

It was one of the most triumphant hours I have ever known; yet on July 19, I rose very heavy and backward, to visit them for the last time. At six in the morning I prayed and sang with them all together."

At half past nine o'clock their irons were knocked off, their hands tied, and they prepared for the solemn journey, and the fatal hour. The Clergyman went in a coach, and about eleven the criminals arrived at Tyburn. Mr. C. Wesley, Mr. Sparks, and Mr. Broughton, got upon the cart with them. The Ordinary endeavored to follow, but the poor prisoners begged that he would not, and the mob kept him down. They were all cheerful, full of comfort, peace and triumph, firmly persuaded that Christ had died for them—had taken away their sins, and was waiting to receive them into Paradise. None showed any natural terror of death, no fear or crying. "I never saw," says Mr. C. Wesley, "such calm triumph—such incredible indifference to dying." We sang several hymns, particularly

"A guilty, weak and helpless worm,
Into thy hands I fall;
Be thou my life, my righteousness,
My Jesus and my All."

I took leave of each in particular. Mr. Broughton bid them not be surprised when the cart should draw away. They cheerfully replied they should not. We left them going to meet their Lord. They were turned off exactly at 12 o'clock—not one struggled for life. I spoke a few suitable words to the crowd and returned full of peace, and confidence of our friends happiness." The whole of this awful scene must have appeared very extraordinary in that day.

About this time, previously to his brothers going to Bristol, they waited on Dr. Gibson, the Bishop of London, to answer the complaints which he had heard alleged against them, respecting their preaching *an absolute assurance of Salvation*. Some of the Bishop's words

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were, "If by assurance ye mean an inward persuasion, whereby a man is conscious in himself, after examining his life by the law of God, and weighing his own sincerity, that he is in a state of salvation, and acceptable to God, I do not see how any good Christian can be without such an assurance."—They answered, "We do contend for this."(*)

Tuesday, November 14, Mr. Charles Wesley had another conference with the Bishop of London, without his brother. He now clearly saw, that a faithful discharge of his duty would expose him to many hardships and dangers; and though he generally had great confidence in God, yet he was fully sensible of his weakness, and that he must be supported in his work by a power not his own. On the 25th of November, at Oxford, he experienced great depression of mind. "I felt," says he, "a pining desire to die, foreseeing the infinite dangers and troubles of life." But, as he was daily engaged in the exercise of some part or other of his ministerial office, "*the times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord*" frequently returned upon him; his strength was renewed, and he was again enabled to go on his way rejoicing.

Mr. Whitfield was at this time at Oxford, and was earnest with Mr. C. Wesley to accept a College Living. This shows that no plan of Itinerant preaching was yet thought of. Had any such plan been in agitation among them, it is very certain Mr. Whitfield would not have urged this advice on Mr. C. Wesley, whom he loved as a brother, and whose labors he highly esteemed.

January 5, 1739, Mr. Wesley gives us another convincing proof that no plan of becoming *Itinerants* was yet formed. He says, "My brother, Mr. Seward, Hall, Whitfield, Ingham, Kinchin, and Hutchins, all set upon me to settle at Oxford."—But he could not agree to their proposal, without being more fully satisfied that it was the order of Providence. This advice, however, and a similar instance above mentioned, plainly show, that their views at present extended no further than to preach the Gospel in Churches, wherever they had opportunity.

(*) Certainly they did. All *believers*, in their walk with God, must thus examine themselves. But no man was ever *justified* thus: This would be justification by works, which is impossible to a sinner.

February 21st, Mr. C. Wesley and his brother thought it prudent to wait on Dr. Potter, then Archbishop, of Canterbury, to prevent any ill impressions which the various false reports of their proceedings might produce on his mind. "He showed us," says Mr. C. Wesley, "great affection: Spoke mildly of Mr Whitfield; cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our defence; to forbear exceptionable phrases; to keep the doctrines of the Church.—We told him we expected persecution would abide by the Church till her Articles and Homilies were repealed.—He assured us he knew of no design in the Governors of the church to innovate; and neither should there be any innovation while he lived. He avowed justification by faith alone; and signified his gladness to see us as often as we pleased." The Archbishop also warned them, as Mr. John Wesley informed me, to preach and enforce only the essentials of religion.—"Other things," said he, "time and the providence of God only can cure." Mr. Wesley never forgot this.

"March 28,—We strove to dissuade my brother from going to Bristol, to which he was pressing'y invited, from an unaccountable fear that it would prove fatal to him. He offered himself willingly to whatever the Lord should appoint. The next day he set out, recommended by us to the grace of God. He left a blessing behind him.—I desired to die with him."

BOOK III.

PROGRESS OF METHODISM IN EUROPE TILL THE DEATH OF MESSRS. WESLEYS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction of Itinerancy and field preaching.—Progress of Religion.

The plan of Itinerancy adopted by Mr. Wesley, has proved the chief and most effectual means, of spreading the pure and evangelical doctrines of the gospel, throughout both the British and American empire. To this, indeed, as the principal means, must be imputed the rapid progress of the church to its present state.

Although the assiduons labors of Mr. Wesley and his concomitants, had been so abundant, previous to their entering into the plan of Itinerancy, yet, as this was the most effectual measure, employed under

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God in producing such extensive revivals of religion, and raising up such a mighty church in the earth, Mr Wesley may from this time, be justly considered, in a more conspicuous light.

The Rev. Mr Crowther in his *Portraiture of Methodism*, very justly observes, "When we survey Mr. Wesley rising into public notice, and having sprung from such a venerable stock of ancestors, both on the side of his father and his mother, and surrounded by such respectable brothers and sisters, we feel our minds prepared for something great and good, beyond what is common; and when we proceed to remark his education, and his religious instruction particularly, we shall see the best foundation laid, for useful knowledge and genuine christianity."

"The *best foundation*" it seems was laid, in every respect for the promotion of vital religion in the world by his instrumentality: not only in regard to his respectable pedigree, his early religious instruction, profound literature, exemplary piety &c., but with respect to the greatest and most important qualification, viz. the anointing of the Holy Spirit, and close communion with God. He was in eager search after truth, for some years before he obtained justifying faith. He at length attained to the knowledge of his acceptance with God, and made a full dedication of all his thoughts, words and actions to his service.

Not content with an ordinary, or partial acquaintance with those things which God has prepared for those that love him, he devoutly sought to be wholly guided, and instructed of the Lord. In his great and ardent search after the things of God, one great and important principle fixed its standard in his soul, "Without Holiness no man shall see the Lord." Something very remarkable is observable in his conduct respecting the course he eventually pursued.

It appears evident that no plan of Itinerant preaching, had agitated Mr. Wesley's mind till a short time before he with his zealous companions entered into the work. On the one hand he was strongly invited to accept of the living of Epworth; while on the other, he was solicited to retire, and spend his days at the University of Oxford. But strange as it might seem to many, he neglected both of these proposals, and embarked in the cause for which he was doubtless de-

signed, by the Wise Disposer of events, 'who worketh all things, according to the counsel of his own will.' A course entirely new and untried, attended with numberless hardships and toils, and calculated to procure the severest censures from the church, and violent persecutions from the world.

The event appears wholly providential, and we who at this day hold an attachment to the same cause, feel bound by the most sacred obligations, to adore that kind providence, which directed those servants of God in that 'most excellent way.'

The workings of the spirit in Mr. Wesley's mind, led him to view in a correct light, the condition of both the church and the world; his mind was consequently inspired with an anxious desire for the salvation of men, which may doubtless be imputed as the only inducement of his becoming an Itinerant.

To this point, he observes in his appeal to men of reason and religion, "We see, (and who does not) the numberless follies and miseries of our fellow creatures. We see on every side, either men of no religion at all, or men of a lifeless and formal religion. We are grieved at the sight, and should greatly rejoice, if by any means we might convince some, that there is a better religion to be attained—a religion worthy of God that gave it: and this we conceive to be no other than love: the love of God, and all mankind.

This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace, having its seat in the heart, in the inmost soul, but ever showing itself by its fruits continually springing forth, not only in all innocence, (for love worketh no ill to his neighbor) but likewise in every kind of beneficence, spreading virtue and happiness to all around."

It could not be expected that a minister of Christ, thus impressed, and who had known what it was to pass from the death of sin to the life of righteousness, would ultimately bury himself in the recess of a college, or be satisfied with the mere rounds of parochial duty. Beholding the world lying in wickedness, and knowing that he possessed by the grace of God, a medicine for its every wound, he could not refrain from inviting all men to taste its healing power.

"Comprehending now with all saints, the height and depth, the

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length and breadth of the love of Christ which passeth knowledge," he would be constrained to proclaim that mercy which he felt to the perishing sons of men.

We have seen how richly furnished the mind of those men were, for the work which lay before them. They had the usual advantages of Learning, but this was not their chief qualification. They had proved religion, till it had become their happiness. They were chosen from the world, and possessed a righteousness truly divine. They saw from the Holy Scriptures, that this happiness was purchased for all men, and promised to all who should believe for it. But how should they believe for that of which they did not hear. A necessity was thus laid upon them *to preach it to all men*, and they awfully felt, that their own perseverance, depended on their declaring it to others.

Messrs Wesleys now began to act, in every part of the British Empire. They still cleaved to the church which they truly loved, but, being shut out generally from the pulpets, they had no other alternative but to become what has been termed irregular. Their hearts bowed to the approbrium. Here then began

"Their race of Glory, and their race of Shame."

And here we see the man, who, while he was a pupil of the pious law, could not see how any man could take charge of one hundred souls, had now a heart to declare, that he looked upon the whole *world* as his parish. He knew, and felt, that He who had quickened his dead soul, could of the stones raise up children to himself. They went forth therefore in his name, and God confirmed their word with signs following: Sinners were converted—drunkards were reclaimed, and the penitent, who came in despair were sent away in hope, and often with 'peace and joy in believing.' These effects, Mr. Southey further observes were public, and undeniable, and looking forward in exulting faith, Mr. Wesley doubted not, that a general reformation would be accomplished. How the Lord would bring this about, he knew not. He did not dare to speculate, or contrive; it would have been contrary to the faith he had received. His only care was, never to go beyond the plain duty of the day, or depart, in any wise, from the word of him whom he served. All minor considerations were

swallowed up in this. God, he believed, had called him to the work, and he would provide for and accomplish it.

I now proceed to detail the particulars of the call (which Mr. Wesley received through Mr. Whitfield) to Bristol, which was followed by such remarkable consequences. It appears that Mr. Wesley himself complied with this invitation with great reluctance; and not till he had used every means he could, to know what was the will of the Lord concerning him. His brother Charles, we have seen, was extremely averse to his going there, which seems to have been one cause of his hesitation. Another he himself has often mentioned.—He thought much at this time, of death: and as his constitution seemed to him not likely to support itself long under the great and continual labors he was engaged in, he judged it probable that his course was nearly finished. At this time, those fine lines of his friend Mr. Gambold were almost continually in his mind:

Ere long, when Sov'reign wisdom wills,
My soul an unknown path shall tread,
And strangely leave, who strangely fills
This frame and waft me to the dead.
O what is death? 'Tis life's last shore,
Where vanities are vain no more:
Where all pursuits their goal obtain,
And life is all retouch'd again;
Where, in their bright results, shall rise,
Thoughts, virtues, friendships, griefs, and joys.

He did not, therefore, dare to waste a moment, or undertake any employment which he had reason to believe was not agreeable to the will of God. He was, however, at last prevailed on to go, and for this he had cause to praise the Wise Disposer of all things.

Mr. Whitfield had a little before, begun to preach in the fields and highways near Bristol; the religious societies, raised up on Dr. Horneck's plan, which first received him, not being able to provide room for a tenth part of the people that crowded to hear him: he therefore pressed Mr. Wesley to come and help him. When he arrived, he also began to expound in one of the society-rooms. But being encouraged by considering the example of our Lord, who preached upon a mountain, and having no place that could contain the multitudes that flock-

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ed together, "I submitted," says he, "to be yet more vile, and proclaimed in the high ways, the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people. The Scripture on which I spoke was this: [Is it possible any one should be ignorant that it is fulfilled in every true minister of Christ?] *"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind; to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."*

It appears that his adopting this way of preaching the Gospel to the poor was not of choice. "When," says he, "I was told I must preach no more in this, and this, and another church, so much the more those who could not hear me there, flocked together when I was at any of the societies; where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain. But after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England, which I had often done in a warmer climate; namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first in Bristol, where the society rooms were exceeding small; and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterward, in or near London.

"And I cannot say, I have ever seen a more awful sight, than when on Rose-Green, or the top of Hanham-Mount, some thousands of people were joined together in solemn waiting upon God, while

They stood, and under open air adored
The God who made both air, earth, heaven and sky.

And whether they were listening to his word, with attention still as night; or were lifting up their voices, in praise, as the sound of many waters: Many a time have I been constrained to say in my heart, *'How dreadful is this place! This also is no other than the house of God! This is the gate of heaven!'*

"Be pleased to observe (1.) That I was forbidden, as by a general consent, to preach in any church, (though not by any judicial sentence,) *for preaching such doctrine..* This was the open avowed

cause ; there was at that time no other, either real or pretended, except that the people crowded so. (2) That I had no desire or design to preach in the open air till after this prohibition. (3.) That when I did, as it was no matter of choice, so neither of premeditation. There was no scheme at all previously formed, which was to be supported thereby ; nor had I any other end in view than this, to save as many souls as I could. (4.) *Field-preaching* was, therefore a sudden *expedient*, a thing submitted to, rather than chosen ; and, therefore, submitted to, because I thought preaching even *thus* better than *not* preaching *at all*: FIRST, in regard to my own soul, because ‘a *dispensation of the Gospel being committed to me,*’ I did not dare ‘*not to preach the Gospel.*’ SECONDLY, in regard to the souls of others, whom I every where saw, ‘*seeking death in the error of their life.*’ ”

He still continued to expound in the society-rooms ; but it was in the open air that the Lord chiefly wrought by his ministry. Many thousands now attended the word. In the suburbs of Bristol, at Bath, in Kingswood, on Hanham-Mount and Rose-Green, many who had set all laws, human and divine, at defiance, and were utterly without God in the world, now fell before the Majesty of heaven, and joyfully acknowledged that “*a prophet was sent among them.*” Cries and tears on every hand frequently drowned his voice, while many exclaimed in the bitterness of their souls, “*What shall I do to be saved?*” Not a few of these were soon, (and frequently while he was declaring the willingness of Christ to receive them,) “*filled with peace and joy in believing,*” and evidenced that the work was really of God, by holy, happy, and unblamable walking before him. Blasphemies were now turned to praise ; and the voice of joy and gladness was found, where wickedness and misery reigned before.

A few here also, in the first instance, and then a greater number, agreed to meet together to edify and strengthen each other, according to the example of the Society in London. Some of these were desirous of building a room large enough to contain not only the Society, but such also as might desire to be present with them when the scripture was expounded. And on Saturday, the 12th of May, 1739, the first tone was laid with the voice of praise and thanksgiving.

As this was the first preaching-house that was erected, Mr. Wesley

has been particular in the relation of some circumstances concerning it. "I had not at first," says he, "the least apprehension or design of being personally engaged, either in the expense of this work, or in the direction of it; having appointed eleven feoffees, on whom, I supposed, these burdens would fall of course. But I quickly found my mistake: First, with regard to the expense; for the whole undertaking must have stood still, had not I immediately taken upon myself the payment of all the workmen; so that before I know where I was, I had contracted a debt of more than a hundred and fifty pounds; and this I was to discharge how I could, the subscriptions of both Societies not amounting to one quarter of the sum. And as to the direction of the work, I presently received letters from my friends in London, Mr. Whitfield in particular, backed with a message by one just come from thence, that neither he nor they would have any thing to do with the building, neither contribute any thing towards it, unless I would instantly discharge all feoffees, and do every thing in my own name. Many reasons they gave for this; but one was enough, viz. 'That such feoffees would always have it in their power to control me, and if I preached not as they liked, to turn me out of the room I had built.' I accordingly yielded to their advice, and calling all the feoffees together, cancelled (no man opposing) the instruments made before, and took the whole management into my own hands. Money, it is true, I had not, nor any human prospect or probability of procuring it. But I knew '*the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof*,' and in his name set out, nothing doubting."

After eight or nine days absence, in which he came to London Mr. Wesley returned to Bristol, and continued his labors with increasing success.

Those who have read the accounts of the great revivals of true religion in many parts of Europe, and in our own country in particular, will easily perceive the sameness of those devices of Satan, whereby he perverts the right ways of the Lord. Latimer, as well as Luther, complains of those, who, knowing that we are justified by faith alone, disallow the fruits of faith. It could not be but that the sower of tares would endeavor by means to overturn this blessed work. Mr. Wesley was now called to oppose three grand deceptions of the enemy of

souls : (1.) Antinomianism, the making void the law through faith : (2.) Unscriptural stillness, the neglect of the ordinances of the Gospel, particularly, prayer, hearing and reading the scriptures, and the Lord's supper : (3.) Attention to dreams, visions, and men's own imaginations and feelings, without bringing them to the only sure test, the oracles of God.

He now labored in many places between London and Bristol. In Moorfields, on Kennington-Common, Blackheath, &c., many thousands attended his ministry. In every place God bore witness to his truth : Multitudes were convinced, that "*the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ :*" and they brought forth fruit meet for repentance ; and not a few found "*redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of their sins.*"

Various and strange were the reports concerning him. As Jeremiah, he could say, "*I heard the defaming of many. Report, said they, and we will report it again.*" The most common rumor was that he was a Jesuit, and had evil designs against the Church, if not against the State. Various were the publications concerning him.—Most of these lived but a few days or weeks, the writers being totally ignorant of the subject they wrote on. Some of them however were not worthy of notice, which he answered with great ability, as will appear in the review of his writings.

His mother now began to attend his ministry being convinced that he spoke the words of truth and soberness. She had lived for some time with her son-in-law Mr. Hall, and by misrepresentations been led to think that her sons John and Charles were in a dangerous error. Her son Samuel, who was deeply prejudiced against his brother's preaching and conduct, laments with great surprise, in a letter to his mother, written about this time, that "she should countenance the spreading delusion, so far as to be one of Jack's congregation." But Mr. Wesley solves this difficulty, "Monday, September 3," says he, "I talked largely with my mother, who told me, that, till a short time since, she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned, as the having forgiveness of sins now, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit : Much less did she imagine, that this was the common privilege of all true believers. 'Therefore,' said she, 'I never durst ask for it

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myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee*; the words struck through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven me all my sins."

"I asked, Whether her Father (Dr. Annesley) had not the same faith? She answered, 'He had it himself, and declared, a little before his death, that, for more than forty years, he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all, of his being *accepted in the beloved*.' But that nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach, no not once, explicitly upon it; whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God." After this she lived with Mr. John Wesley, and joyfully attended his ministry till God called her to a better world.

A serious clergyman, convinced of his uprightness, but yet staggered at a conduct which he thought contrary to the interests of the Established Church, desired to know in what points he differed from the Church of England? "I answered," says Mr. Wesley, "to the best of my knowledge, in none: The doctrines we preach are the doctrines of the Church of England: Indeed the fundamental doctrines of the Church, clearly laid down in her prayers, articles, and homilies.

"He asked, in what points then do you differ from the other clergy of the Church of England? I answered, in none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the Church: but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the Church, (though they own it not,) I differ in the points following:

"*First*, They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.

"*Secondly*, They speak of our holiness or good works, as the cause of our justification; or, that for the sake of which, on account of which we are justified before God. I believe, neither our holiness, nor good works, are any part of the cause of our justification: but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it; or,



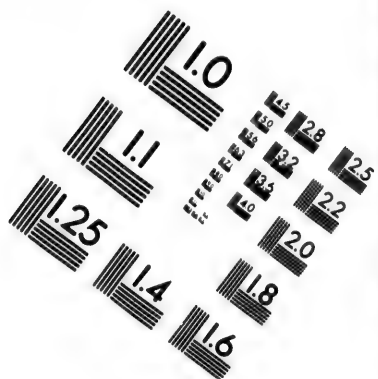
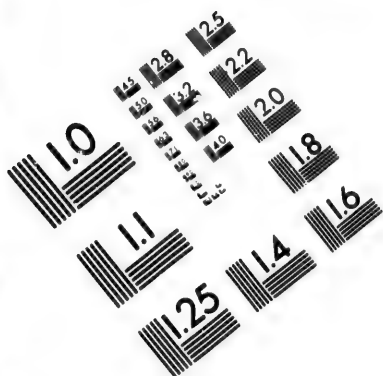
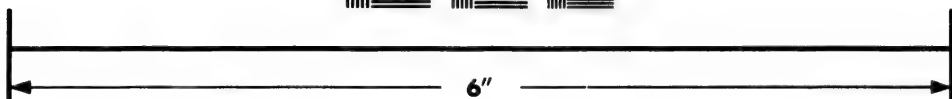
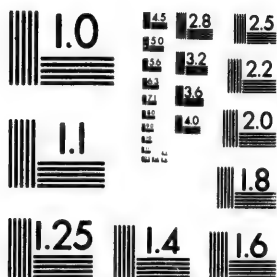


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that *for the sake of which, on account of which*, we are justified before God.

“*Thirdly*, They speak of good works, as a condition of justification necessarily previous to it. I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently a condition of it; but that we are justified, (being until that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work,) by faith alone, faith without works, faith (though producing all) yet including no good work.

“*Fourthly*, They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing, as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in these two points, (1.) The doing no harm, (2.) The doing good, (as it is called,) i. e. The using the means of grace, and helping our neighbor.

“I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, *The life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the Divine Nature; the mind that was in Christ; or, the renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us.*

“*Lastly*, They speak of the *New Birth*, as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism; or at most a change from *outward wickedness* to *outward goodness*; from a vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness: An entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil, (wherein we are born) to the image of God: A change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator, from earthly and sensual, to heavenly and holy affections; in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness, to those of the angels of God in heaven.

“There is therefore a wide, essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference between us: So that if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind.”

About this time, Mr. Wesley made the following remarks on the great work which the Lord had already wrought by his ministry:—

“Such a work as this hath been in many respects, is such as neither we nor our fathers have known. Not a few whose sins were of the most flagrant kind; drunkards, swearers, thieves, whoremongers, and adulterers, have been brought from darkness into light, and from

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the power of satan unto God: many of these were rooted in their wickedness, having long gloried in their shame, perhaps for a course of many years, yea, even to hoary hairs. Many had not so much as a notional faith, being Jews, Arians, Deists or Atheists. Nor has God only made his arm bear in these last days in behalf of open publicans and sinners, but many of the Pharisees also, have believed on him: of the righteous that [seemed to need no repentance, having received the sentence of death in themselves, have been made partakers of an inward vital religion, even righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

The manner wherein God hath wrought this work, is as strange as the work itself. In any particular soul, it has generally, if not always, been wrought in one moment. As the lightning shining from heaven, so was the coming of the Son of man, either to bring peace or a sword, either to wound or to heal, either to convince of sin, or to give remission of sins in his blood. And other circumstances attending, have been equally remote from what human wisdom would have expected. So true is that word "*My ways are not as your ways, nor my thoughts as your thoughts*." These extraordinary circumstances, seem to have been designed by God, for the further manifestation of his work, to cause his power to be known and to awaken the attention of a drowsy world.

About the middle of August, Mr Wesley had a conversation with the Bishop of Bristol, on justification by faith alone, a part of which has been preserved.

Bishop. Why sir, our faith itself, is a good work, it is a virtuous temper of mind.

Wesley. My Lord, whatever faith is, our church asserts, we are justified by faith alone; but how it can be called a good work, I see not, seeing it is the gift of God, and a gift that pre-supposes nothing in us but sin and misery.

B. How Sir! then you make God a tyranical being; if he justifies some without any goodness in them preceding, and does not justify all. If these are not justified on account of some moral goodness in them, why are not those justified too.

W. Because, my Lord, they resist the spirit. Because they will

not come unto him, that they may have life ; because they suffer him not to work in them, both to will and to do. They cannot be *saved*, because they *will not believe*.

B. Sir, what do you mean by faith ?

W. My Lord, by justifying faith, I mean a conviction wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost, that Christ hath loved *him*, and given himself for him, and, that through Christ his sins are forgiven. (*)

B. I believe some good men have this, but not all. But how do you prove this to be the justifying faith taught in our church.

W. My Lord, from the Homily on salvation, where she describes it thus : “ A sure trust and confidence which a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ, his sins are forgiven, and he reconciled to the favor of God.”

B. Why Sir, this is quite another thing.

W. My Lord, I conceive it to be the very same.

B. Mr. Wesley, I will deal plain with you. I once thought you and Mr. Whitfield well meaning men ; but I cannot think so now : for I have heard more of you—matters of fact sir. Mr. Whitfield says in his journal, “ There are promises still to be fulfilled in me.”—Sir, the pretending to extraordinary revelations, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, is a horrid thing ; a very horrid thing.

W. My Lord, for what Mr. Whitfield says, Mr. Whitfield, and not I, is accountable. I pretend to no *extraordinnry* revelation, and gifts of the Holy Ghost. None but what every Christian may receive, and ought to expect and pray for ; nor do I wonder, that your Lordship’s believing them true, should alter the opinion you once had of me. A quarter of an hour, I spent with your Lordship before, and about one hour now, and perhaps you have never conversed another hour with any one who spoke in my favour, but how many, with those who spoke on the other side ; so that your Lordship could not but think as you do. But pray my Lord, what are those facts you have heard.

B. I hear you administer the Sacrament in your Societies.

W. My Lord, I never did yet, and believe I never shall.

* This is the definition of the Homilies. Mr. Wesley thought more scriptural afterwards. It should be, and, that his sins are attoned for by Christ.

B. I hear too, that many people fall into fits in your Societies and that you pray over them.

W. I do so my Lord, when any show by strong cries and tears that their soul is in deep anguish. I frequently pray to God to deliver them from it, and our prayer is often heard at that hour.

B. Very extraordinary indeed. Well sir, since you would ask my advice, I will give it you very freely: you have no business here; you are not commissioned to preach in this Diocess, therefore I advise you to go hence.

W. My Lord, my business on earth is to do what good I can; Wherever therefore I think I can do most good, there I must stay, so long as I think so. At present, I think I can do most good here; therefore, here I stay. As to my preaching here, '*a dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.*' Wherever I am in the habitable world, your Lordship knows, my being ordained a Priest of the Church universal, and being ordained a Fellow of a College, I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God, in any part of the Church of England. I do not therefore conceive, that in preaching here, by this commission, I break any human law. When I am convinced I do, then it will be time to ask, "shall I obey God or man."

But, if I should be convinced in the meanwhile that I could advance the glory of God, and the Salvation of souls in any other place more than here, by God's help I will go hence, which till then I may not do.

Religion now made a rapid progress; societies were formed in many places, and even at a considerable distance. The laborers as yet were few, but, believing they were engaged in the cause of God against ignorance and profaneness, which overspread the land, they were indefatigable, scarcely giving themselves any rest day or night. The effects of their preaching made much noise, which at length roused some of the sleeping watchmen of Israel; not indeed to inquire after the truth, and amend their ways, but to crush these irregular proceedings, that they might quietly sleep again. These opponents, however, had more zeal against Methodism, than knowledge of it. They at-

tacked it with nothing but idle stories, misrepresentations of facts, and gross falsehoods. They retailed these from the pulpit, and published them from the press, with little regard to *moderation, charity, or even decency.*

Mr. Wesley knew in whom he had believed, and in the midst of abuse, poured out upon him by friends and enemies, went on his way as if he heard not.

After a short visit to London, he again returned to Bristol. October 15. Upon a pressing invitation he set out for Wales. The churches were here also shut against him, as in England, and he preached in private houses, or the open air, to a willing people.—“I have seen,” says he, “no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in: and most of the inhabitants are indeed ‘ripe for the Gospel.’ I mean, if the expression seems strange, they are *earnestly desirous* of being instructed in it; and as *utterly ignorant* of it they are, as any Creek or Cherokee Indians. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ: many of them can say both the Lord’s Prayer and the Belief. Nay, and some all the Catechism: But take them out of what they had learned by rote, and they know no more, (nine or ten of those with whom I conversed,) either of Gospel salvation, or of that faith whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris, or an Itinerant preacher!” The word did not fall to the ground. Many however, ‘*repented and believed the Gospel.*’ And some united together to strengthen each others’ hand in God, and to provoke one another to love and to good works.

During this time, Mr. C. Wesley, having also got rid of his scruples of preaching out of a church, united with his brother in *seeking* as well as *saving* the lost.

July 4th, Mr. C. Wesley returned to London. On the 8th he preached to near ten thousand hearers, by computation, in Moorfields, and the same day at Kennington-Common. His labors now daily increased upon him; and his success, in bringing great numbers from darkness to light, and in rousing the minds of vast multitudes to a se-

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rious inquiry after religion, was beyond any thing we can at present, easily conceive. Yet he was far from being elated, as a hypocrite would certainly have been, but felt the full force of the temptations which arose from the success of his ministry.—July 22, he says, “Never, till now, did I know the strength of temptation and energy of sin. Who, that consults only the quiet of his own mind, would covet great success! I live in a continual storm; my soul is always in my hand; the enemy thrusts sore at me, that I may fall, and a worse enemy than the devil is my own heart. *Miror quemquam predicatorem salvari.* (*) The only remedy for these painful, and oftentimes weakening feelings, is an increase of faith.”

“August 7,” he continues, “I preached repentance and faith at Plaistow, and at night, expounded in a private house on Lazarus dead and raised. August 10, I gave Mr. Whitefield some account of my labors, and conflicts.”

“Dear George—I forgot to mention the most material occurrence at Plaistow, namely, that a clergyman was there convinced of sin.—He stood under me, and appeared throughout my discourse, under the greatest perturbation of mind. In our return, we were much delighted with an old Spiritual Quaker, who is clear in justification.”

He now met his little society at his preaching house near Moorfields, which was generally known by the name of the Foundry, because it was originally built for the casting of cannon. In this place he also regularly preached. His word was owned of God, and his Society rapidly increased. He therefore now saw it necessary to draw up, jointly with his brother, rules for his Societies, in London, Bristol, Kingswood, and other parts of the kingdom; and as they contain as fine a system of Christian ethics, as ever was perhaps drawn up in so small a compass, and have been the rules by which, since that time, the whole connection has been governed, I think it my indispensable duty to give them a place in the present history.

(*) I wonder any preacher of the Gospel is saved.

THE NATURE, DESIGN, AND GENERAL RULES OF OUR UNITED SOCIETIES.

(1.) In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to Mr. Wesley, in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired, (as did two or three more the next day,) that he would spend some time with them in prayer, and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come; which they saw continually hanging over their heads. That he might have more time for this great work, he appointed a day when they might all come together; which from thenceforward they did every week, namely, on *Thursday* in the evening. To these, and as many more as desired to join with them, (for their number increased daily,) he gave those advices from time to time which he judged most needful for them; and they always concluded their meeting with prayer, suited to their several necessities.

(2.) This was the rise of the UNITED SOCIETY, first in *Europe* and then in *America*. Such a society is no other than "*a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness, united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.*"

(3.) That it may the more easily be discerned, whether they are indeed working out their own salvation, each society, is divided into smaller companies, called classes, according to their respective places of abode. There are about twelve persons in a class: one of whom is styled *The Leader*.—It is his duty,

- I. To see each person in his class once a week at least; in order,
 1. To inquire how their souls prosper:
 2. To advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort, as occasion may require:
 3. To receive what they are willing to give, towards the relief of the preachers, church, and poor. (*)

II. To meet the ministers and the stewards of the society once a week; in order,

(*) This part refers to towns and cities; where the poor are generally numerous, and church expenses considerable.

7. To inform the minister of any that are sick, or of any that walk disorderly, and will not be reprov'd.

2. To pay the stewards what they have received of their several classes in the week preceding.

(4.) There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, "a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins." But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation,

First, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind, especially that which is most generally practised : such as,

The taking of the name of God in vain.

The profaning the day of the Lord, either by doing ordinary work therein, or by buying or selling.

Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, unless in cases of necessity.

The *buying and selling of men, women and children, with an intention to enslave them.*

Fighting, quarreling, brawling, brother going to law with brother ; returning evil for evil ; or railing for railing ; the using many words in buying or selling.

The *buying or selling goods that have not paid the duty.*

The *giving or taking things on usury, i. e. unlawful interest.*

Uncharitable or unprofitable conversation : particularly speaking evil of magistrates or ministers.

Doing to others as we would not they should do unto us.

Doing what we know is not for the glory of God : as,

The *putting on of gold and costly apparel.*

The *taking such diversions* as cannot be used in the name of the Lord Jesus.

The *singing those songs, or reading those books* which do not tend to the knowledge or love of God.

Softness and needless self-indulgence ;

Laying up treasure upon earth.

Borrowing without a probability of paying ; or taking up goods without a probability of paying for them.

(5.) It is expected of all who continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

Secondly, By doing good, by being in every kind merciful after their power, as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort, and as far as possible, to all men ;

To their bodies, of the ability which God giveth, by giving food to the hungry, by clothing the naked, by visiting or helping them that are sick or in prison.

To their souls, by instructing, reproving or exhorting all we have any intercourse with ; trampling under foot that enthusiastic doctrine, that, "*we are not to do good, unless our hearts be free to it.*"

By doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith, or groaning so to be ; employing them preferably to others, buying one of another, helping each other in business ; and so much the more because the world will love its own, and them only.

By all possible diligence and frugality, that the gospel be not blamed.

By running with patience the race which is set before them, *denying themselves, and taking up their cross daily* ; submitting to bear the reproach of Christ, to be as the filth and offscouring of the world ; and looking that men should say *all manner of evil of them falsely for the Lord's sake.*

(6.) It is expected of all who desire to continue in these societies, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation.

Thirdly, by attending upon all the ordinances of God : such are,

The public worship of God :

The ministry of the word, either read or expounded :

The supper of the Lord :

Family and private prayer :

Searching the Scriptures, and

Fasting or abstinence.

(7.) These are the general rules of our societies : all of which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule both of our faith and practice. And

all these we know his Spirit writes in truly awakened hearts: If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be known unto them who watch over that soul, as they who must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways. We will bear with him for a season. But if then he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls.

Mr. Wesley now went on with his labors, and with the same success. Multitudes, as before, attended his ministry, and many, renouncing ungodliness, were brought into the liberty of the Gospel. Many also were the witnesses, who, after patiently suffering the afflictions which the Lord was pleased to lay upon them, resigned their souls into the hands of God, with triumphant praise and joy.

For a considerable time Mr. Whitefield continued to labor in union with him; and sometimes they appeared in the pulpit together. Mr. Whitefield, on his second visit to America, was well received by many pious ministers in the northern states. Almost all these were of Mr. Calvin's sentiments, and asserted absolute Predestination. Mr. Whitefield, being edified by their piety, began in a little time to relish their creed. They strongly recommended to him the writings of the Puritan divines, which he from that time read with much pleasure, approving all he found therein, as he informs Mr. Wesley in a letter which he wrote to him on the subject. The consequence was, that on his return to England, he could not join his old friend in the work of the ministry, with the same cordiality as before.

As Mr. Wesley fully believed, and firmly asserted, that "*God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved,*" he had now another error to oppose. The Calvinistic sentiments had been long held by a great part of the dissenting congregations, but did not appear for some time among those who were converted in the present revival of religion. This however was not of long continuance.

"One evening," says Mr. Wesley, "Mr. Acourt complained, that Mr. Nowers had hindered his going into the Society. Mr. Nowers answered, it was by Mr. C. Wesley's order. 'What,' says Mr. A——, 'do you refuse admitting a person into your Society, only

because he differs from you in opinion?"—I answered, No. But what opinion do you mean?—He said, 'That of election. I hold a certain number is elected from eternity. And these must and shall be saved. And the rest of mankind must and shall be damned. And many of your Society hold the same.'—I replied, I never asked whether they held it or no. Only let them not trouble others by disputing about it—He said, "Nay, but I *will* dispute about it."—What, wherever you come?—'Yes, wherever I come.'—Why then would you come among us, who you know are of another mind?—'Because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right.'—I fear your coming with this view, would neither profit you nor us—He concluded, 'Then I will go and tell the world, that you and your brother are false prophets. And I tell you, in one fortnight you will all be in confusion.' "

Soon after this, the copy of a letter written by Mr. Whitefield to Mr. Wesley, was printed without the permission of either, and great numbers of copies were given to the people, both at the door of the Foundry and in the house itself. Mr. Wesley having procured one of them, related (after preaching) the naked fact to the congregation, and told them, "I will do just what I believe Mr. Whitefield would, were he here himself." Upon which he tore it in pieces before them all. Every one who had received it, did the same: so that, in two minutes, there was not a whole copy left. "Ah, poor Ahithophel!" added Mr. Wesley,

"Ibi, omnis effusus labor!"—There, all your labor's lost!

Several letters passed between Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield on the calvinistic question. In Mr. Whitefield's last, he says, "I thank you," for your kind answer to my last. Dear sir, who would be troubled with a party spirit? May our Lord make all his children free from it indeed!"

From this time, their mutual regard and friendly intercourse suffered no interruption till Mr. Whitefield's death, who says, in his last will, written with his own hand, about six months before he died, "I leave a mourning-ring to my honored and dear friends, and disinterested fellow laborers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and Christian

affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgement about some particular points of doctrine."(*)—When the news of Mr. Whitefield's death reached London, Mr. Keen, one of his executors, recollecting he had often said to him, "If you should die abroad, whom shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend the Rev. Mr. John Wesley?" And having constantly received for answer, "He is the man," Mr. Keen accordingly waited on Mr. Wesley, and engaged him to preach it; which he did, and bore ample testimony to the undissembled piety, the ardent zeal, and the extensive usefulness, of his much loved and honored friend.(†)

As the people who placed themselves under his care, daily increased, he was involved in a considerable difficulty: either he must confine his labors to those whom he could visit constantly, or within a short space of time, or endeavor to procure some other assistance for them. It seems, at first, he had some hopes that the Ministers of the respective parishes would watch over those who were lately turned from the error of their ways. In this, however, he was disappointed, which induced him to try other methods; and, at last, drew forth that defence of himself, which he makes in the third part of his "Farther Appeal to men of Reason and Religion."

"It pleased God," says Mr. Wesley, "by two or three Ministers of the Church of England, to call many sinners to repentance; who, in several parts, were undeniably turned from a course of sin to a course of holiness."

"The Ministers of the places where this was done, ought to have received those Ministers with open arms; and to have taken those persons who had just begun to serve God, into their particular care; watching over them in tender love, lest they should fall back into the snare of the devil."

"Instead of this, the greater part spoke of those Ministers, as if the devil, not God had sent them. Some repelled them from the Lord's table; others stirred up the people against them, representing them, even in their public discourses, as *fellows not fit to live; Papists, heretics, traitors; conspirators* against their *King and country*."

(*) See Robert's Life of Whitefield, page 156.

(†) Ibid. page 230. Mr. Whitefield died in September, 1770.

"And how did they watch over the sinners lately reformed? Even as a leopard watcheth over his prey. They drove some of them from the Lord's Table; to which, till now, they had no desire to approach. They preached all manner of evil concerning them, openly cursing them in the name of the Lord. They turned many out of their work, persuaded others to do so too, and harassed them in all manner of ways.

"The event was, that some were wearied out, and so turned back to their vomit again: and then these good pastors gloried over them, and endeavored to shake others by their example.

"When the Ministers, by whom God had helped them before, came again to those places, great part of their work was to begin again, if it could be begun again; but the relapsers were often so hardened in sin, that no impression could be made upon them.

"What could they do in case of so extreme necessity, where so many souls lay at stake?

"No clergyman would assist at all. The expedient that remained was, to find some one among themselves, who was upright of heart, and of sound judgement in the things of God; and to desire him to meet the rest as often as he could, in order to confirm them, as he was able, in the ways of God, either by reading to them, or by prayer, or by exhortation."

With this view, Mr. Wesley had formerly appointed Mr. Cennick to reside at Kingswood. But the want of an assistant of this kind was particularly felt in London. The Society in that city had recently and deeply experienced the mischievous effects of that instruction, which is not according to the oracles of God: And, therefore, when he was about to leave London for a season, he appointed one whom he judged to be strong in the faith, and of an exemplary conversation, to meet the Society at the usual times, to pray with them, and give them such advice as might be needful. This was Mr. Maxfield, one of the first-fruits of his ministry at Bristol. This young man being fervent in spirit, and *mighty in the Scriptures*, greatly profited the people. They crowded to hear him; and, by the increase of their number, as well as by their earnest and deep attention, they insensibly led him to go further than he had at first designed. He began to

preach, and the Lord so blessed the word, that many were not only deeply awakened and brought to repentance, but were also made happy in a consciousness of pardon. The Scripture marks of true conversion.—inward peace, and power to walk in all holiness,—evidenced the work to be of God.

Some, however, were offended at this *irregularity*, as it was termed. A complaint was made in form to Mr. Wesley, and he hastened to London in order to put a stop to it. His mother then lived in his house, adjoining to the Foundery. When he arrived, she perceived that his countenance was expressive of dissatisfaction, and inquired the cause. "Thomas Maxfield," said he abruptly, "has turned Preacher I find." She looked attentively at him, and replied, "John, you know what my sentiments have been. You cannot suspect me of favoring readily any thing of this kind. But take care what you do with respect to that young man, for he is as surely called of God to preach, as you are. Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him also yourself." He did so. His prejudices bowed before the face of truth, and he could only say, "*It is the Lord. Let him do what seemeth to him good.*"

In other places also, the same assistance was afforded. It appears, indeed, from what he had said at various times, that he only *submitted with reluctance to it*. His High Church Principles stood in his way. But such effects were produced, that he frequently found himself in the predicament of Peter; who, being questioned in a matter somewhat similar, could only relate the fact and say "*What was I that I could withstand God.*"

But the Lord was about to show him still greater things than these. An honest man, a mason, of Birstal in Yorkshire, whose name was John Nelson, coming up to London to work at his trade, heard *that word* which he found to be the "*power of God unto Salvation.*"—Nelson had full business in London and large wages. But, from that time of his finding peace with God, it was continually on his mind that he must return to his native place. He did so, about Christmas in the year 1740. His relations and acquaintance soon began to inquire, "What he thought of this new faith? And whether he believed there was any such thing, as a man's knowing that his sins were for-

given?" John told them point blank, "that this new faith, as they called it, was the old faith of the Gospel; and that he himself was as sure his sins were forgiven, as he could be of the shining of the sun." This was soon noised abroad; and more and more came to inquire concerning these strange things. Some put him upon the proof of the great truths, which such inquiries naturally led him to mention. And thus he was brought unawares to quote, explain, compare, and enforce, several parts of Scripture. This he did at first, sitting in his house, till the company increased, so that the house could not contain them. Then he stood at the door, which he was commonly obliged to do in the Evening, as soon as he came from work. God immediately set his seal to what was spoken; and several believed, and therefore declared, that God was merciful also to their unrighteousness, and had forgiven all their sins.

Here was a preacher, and a large congregation, many of whom were happy partakers of the faith of the Gospel, raised up without the direct interference of Mr. Wesley. He, therefore, now fully acquiesced in *the order of God*, and rejoiced that *the thoughts of God were not as his confined thoughts*. His mind was enlarged with the love of God and man; and he determined, more firmly than ever, to spend and be spent for the glory of his name. Nelson's Journal was afterwards published and is now extant. And it is hard to say which is most to be admired,—the strength of his understanding, unassisted by human learning,—his zeal for the salvation of souls,—or the injuries and oppressions which he suffered from those who "*knew not what spirit they were of*."

Mr. Wesley visited this good man at his earnest request, and from that time labored much in Yorkshire. In no part of England has religion taken a deeper root, or had a wider spread, than in this favored county. The people, who are numerous, are also industrious, and, in general, fully employed. They have learned to be "diligent in business, and fervent in spirit, serving the Lord." Not only in all the capital towns, but in all the villages also, numerous Societies were formed; and Christian fellowship, till then unknown, has given to religion a stability and beauty, which can hardly be conceived by those who know it not.

Mr. Maxfield was now regularly employed in the work. He was remarkably useful, and excited the astonishment of those who heard him. The late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon was, at this time and for many years after, exceedingly attached to Mr. Wesley, and very frequently wrote to him. She heard Mr. Maxfield expound, and in a letter to Mr. Wesley, speaks thus of him: "I never mentioned to you that I have seen Maxfield. He is one of the greatest instances of God's peculiar favor that I know. He has raised from the stones one to sit among the princes of his people. He is my astonishment. How is God's power shown in weakness! You can have no idea of what an attachment I have to him. He is highly favored of the Lord. The first time I made him expound, expecting little from him, I sat over against him, and thought what a power of God must be with him, to make me give any attention to him. But before he had gone over one-fifth part, any one that had seen me would have thought I had been made of wood or stone, so quite immovable I both felt and looked.—His power in prayer is very extraordinary. To deal plainly, I could either talk or write for an hour about him.—The society goes on well here. Live assured of the most faithful and sincere friendship of your unworthy sister in Christ Jesus."

Mr. Wesley's letter to his brother Charles, seems to have thoroughly roused him. Accordingly on August 16th, having shaken off his depression, he entered fully on the Itinerant plan. He rode to Wickham, and being denied the church, would have preached in a private house; but Mr. Bowers having been there preaching in the streets, had raised great opposition, and effectually shut the door against him. The next day he went to Oxford, and the day following reached Evesham.

Mr. C. Wesley pursued his plan, and on the 26th day of August, 1739, was at Painswick. The Minister was so obliging as to lend him his pulpit, but the Church could not hold the people: it was supposed, that there were two thousand persons in the Church-yard. He therefore stood at a window, which was taken down, and preached to the Congregation within the walls and without. They listened with eager attention, while he explained, "*God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, &c.*"

Though there had been no riots, nor any open persecution of the

Methodists in Bristol, yet many individuals suffered considerably. Every Sunday, says Mr. C. Wesley, "damnation is denounced by some of the Clergy, against all who hear us: for we are Papists, Jesuits, Seducers, and bringers-in of the Pretender. The Clergymen murmured aloud at the number of communicants, and threatened to repel them. Yet will not the world bear that we should talk of persecution. No, for the world now is christian, and the offence of the cross has ceased. Alas! what would they do further! Some loose their bread, some their habitations. One suffers stripes, another confinement, yet we must not call this persecution. Doubtless they will find some other name for it, when they shall think they do God's service by killing us, it is always the lamb that troubles the water.

When Mr. Wesley baptised adults professing faith in Christ, he choose to do it by triune immersion, if the persons would submit to it, judging this to be the apostolic method of baptising. "October 13," Mr. Wesley observes, "I wrote to the Bishop of Bristol, as follows:—"

My Lord,—Several persons have applied to me for baptism. It has pleased God to make me instrumental in their conversion. This has given them such a prejudice for me, that they desire to be received into the Church by my ministry. They choose likewise to be baptised by immersion, and have engaged me to give your Lordship notice as the Church requires."

"November, I received a summons from Oxford, to respond in Divinity disputations, which, together with other concurrent providences is a plain call to that place."

March 14, 1740, Mr. C. Wesley visited Gloucester with Thomas Maxfield, who travelled with him most part of the time this year. The next day he went to Bengeworth, in hopes of seeing his old friend Mr. Benjamin Seward. But here he met with a disappointment. Mr. Seward had been ill of a fever. His relations taking the advantage of his situation, had intercepted all his letters. They called his fever madness, and now when he was recovering, placed servants over him to prevent any Methodist from coming to him.

His brother, Mr. Henry Seward, came to Mr. C. Wesley, and

gave him plenty of abuse, calling him scoundrel, rascal, pickpocket, &c. Mr. C. Wesley made little reply, but ordered notice to be given, that he would preach next day March 16th, at the usual place, which was near Seward's house. The brother came to him, to dissuade him from attempting it, telling him that four constables were ordered to apprehend him, if he came near his brother's wall. Mr. C. Wesley however, was not to be deterred from his purpose by threatening, and when the time of preaching drew near walked forward towards the place. In his way thither a Mayor's Officer met him, and desired he would go with him to the Mayor. Mr. C. Wesley answered that he would first wait on his Lord, and then on the Mayor, whom he revered for the sake of his office. Mr. Seward now met him, with threatnings and revilings. Mr. C. Wesley began singing,

"Shall I for fear of feeble man &c."

This enraged Mr. Henry, who ran about raving like a mad man, and quickly got some fellows fit for his purpose. These laid hold on Mr. Wesley, who asked by what authority they did it—where was their warrant—let them show that, and he would save them the trouble of using violence. They said they had no warrant, but he should not preach there, and dragged him away amidst the cries of the people. Mr. Henry Seward cried out, "Take him away and duck him." "I broke out," says Mr. C. Wesley, "into singing, with Thomas Maxfield, and suffered them to carry me whither they pleased. At the bridge in the lane they left me. Then I stood out of the liberty of the Corporation and gave out

Angel of God, what e'er beside,
Thy summons I obey;" &c.

Some hundreds followed, whom they could not hinder from hearing me, on, "If God be for us, who can be against us." Never did I feel so much what I spoke, and the word did not return empty.

I then waited on Mr. Mayor, the poor sincere ones following me trembling. He was a little warm at my not coming before. I gave him the reasons and added, that I knew of no law, of God or man which I had transgressed, but if there was any such law, I desired no favour. He said he should not have denied me leave to preach, even in his own yard, but Mr. H. Seward and the apothecary had assured him, it would quite cast his brother down again. I answered him, if

would tend to restore him. Here a clergyman spoke much, and nothing. As far as I could pick out his meaning, he grumbled that Mr. Whitefield had spoken against the clergy in his journal. I told him if he were a carnal, worldly minded clergyman, I also might do what he would call railing. I might bid God's people to beware of false prophets. I did not say, because I did not know, that he was one of those Shepherds who fed themselves, not the flock; but if he was I was sorry for him, and must leave that sentence of Chrysostom with him, "Hell is paved with the skulls of Christian priests." I turned from him, and asked the Mayor whether he approved of the treatment I had met with. He said "by no means," and if I complained he would bind the men over to answer it at the Sessions. I told him I did not complain, neither would I prosecute them, as they well knew. I assured him, that I waited on him not from interest, for I wanted nothing, not from fear for I had done no wrong; but from true respect, and to show him, that I believed the powers that be, are ordained of God."

"Sunday, June 22nd, I went [again] to learn Christ among our colliers, and drank into their spirit. We rejoiced for the consolation. O that some of our London brethren would but come to school to Kingswood! These *are* what they of London *pretend* to be. God knows their poverty; but they are rich, and daily entering into his rest. They do not hold it necessary to deny weak faith, in order to get strong. Their souls truly wait upon God in his ordinances. Ye many masters, come learn Christ of these outcasts; for know, that *except ye be converted, and become like these little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* I met several of those whom I had baptized, and found them growing in grace.

July 16th. Being returned to Bristol he observes, "While I was meeting the bands, my mouth was opened to reprove, rebuke, and exhort, in words not my own. All trembled before the presence of God. I was forced to cut off a rotten member, but felt such love and pity at the time, as humbled me into the dust. It was as if one criminal was executing another. We betook ourselves to fervent prayer for him and the Society. The spirit of prayer was poured out upon us, and we returned to the Lord with weeping and mourning." See here, the true Apostolic spirit of church discipline.

Many of the Colliers who had been abandoned to every kind of wickedness, even to a proverb, were now become pious and zealous for the things of God. A great number of these at this time came to the churches in Bristol on the Lord's day, for the benefit of the sacrament. But most of the Bristol ministers repelled them from the table, because they did not belong to their parishes. Setting religion aside, common humanity would have taught them to rejoice in so remarkable a reformation among these wretched people.

"July 27.—I heard a miserable sermon," says Mr. C. Wesley, "at Temple-Church, recommending religion as the most likely way to raise a fortune. After sermon, proclamation was made, that all should depart who were not of the parish. While the shepherd was driving away the lambs, I staid, suspecting nothing, till the clerk came to me and said, 'Mr. Beacher bids you go away, for he will not give you the sacrament.' I went to the vestry door, and mildly desired Mr. Beacher to admit me. He asked, 'Are you of this parish?' I answered, Sir, you see that I am a clergyman. Then dropping his first pretence, he charged me with rebellion, in expounding the Scripture without authority; and said in express words, 'I repel you from the sacrament.' I replied, I cite you to answer this, before JESUS CHRIST, at the day of judgment. This enraged him above measure; he called out, '*Here, take away this man.*' The constables had been ordered to attend, I suppose, lest the colliers should take the sacrament by force! but I saved them the trouble of taking away '*this man,*' and quietly retired."—These things are but poor evidences, that the Bristol ministers were at that time the true successors of the apostles!

"Friday, May 28, 1742."—Mr. John Wesley observes: "we came to Newcastle about six in the evening, and, after a short refreshment, walked into the town. I was surprised; so much drunkenness, cursing and swearing, (even from the mouths of little children,) do I never remember to have seen and heard before, in so small a compass of time. Surely this place is ripe for Him, '*who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.*'"

"Sunday, 30.—At seven I walked down to Sandgate, the poorest and most contemptible part of the town; and standing at the end of the street with John Taylor, began to sing the hundredth psalm.

Three or four people came to see what was the matter; who soon increased to four or five hundred. I suppose, there might be twelve or fifteen hundred before I had done preaching; to whom I applied those solemn words, '*He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed.*'

"Observing the people, when I had done, to stand gaping and staring upon me, with the most profound astonishment, I told them, 'If you desire to know who I am, my name is John Wesley. At five in the evening, with God's help, I design to preach here again.'

"At five, the hill on which I designed to preach, was covered from the top to the bottom. I never saw so large a number of people together, either in Moorfields or on Kennington Common. I knew it was not possible for the one half to hear, although my voice was then strong and clear; and I stood so as to have them all in view, as they were ranged on the side of the hill. The word of God which I set before them was, '*I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.*' After preaching, the poor people were ready to tread me under foot, out of pure love and kindness. It was some time before I could possibly get out of the press. I then went back another way from which I came: but several were got to our inn before me, by whom I was vehemently importuned to stay with them, at least a few days; or, however, one day more. But I could not consent, having given my word to be at Bristol, with God's leave, on Tuesday night."

He now also visited Epworth, his native place, where his father had been Rector of the parish for many years, and borne a faithful testimony, though almost all the seed seemed to have been sown as "*by the high-way side.*" "It being many years," says he, "since I had been in Epworth before, I went to an inn, in the middle of the town, not knowing whether there were any left in it now who would not be ashamed of my acquaintance. But an old servant of my father, with two or three poor women, presently found me out. I asked her, do you know any in Epworth who are in earnest to be saved? She answered, 'I am by the grace of God; and I know *I am saved through faith.*' I asked, have you then the peace of God? Do you know that

he has forgiven your sins? She replied, 'I thank God, I know it well; and many here can say the same thing.' "

Mr. Wesley proceeds, "Sunday, June 6, 1742.—A little before the service began, I went to Mr. Romley, the curate, and offered to assist him either by preaching or reading prayers: but he did not choose to accept of my assistance. The church was exceedingly full in the afternoon, a rumor being spread that I was to preach. But the sermon, on '*Quench not the Spirit,*' was not suitable to the expectation of many of the hearers. Mr. Romley told them, 'One of the most dangerous ways of quenching the spirit was by enthusiasm;' and enlarged on the character of an enthusiast in a very florid and oratorical manner. After sermon, John Taylor stood in the churchyard, and gave notice as the people were coming out, 'Mr. Wesley, not being permitted to preach in the church, designs to preach here at six o'clock.' Accordingly, at six I came, and found such a congregation as I believe Epworth never saw before. I stood near the East end of the church, upon my father's tomb-stone, and cried, '*The Kingdom of Heaven is not meat and drink: but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.*' "

He continues, "Friday 11th.—I preached again at Epworth, on Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dry bones. And great indeed was the shaking among them: Lamentation and great mourning were heard; God bowed their hearts, so that on every side, as with one accord, they lifted up their voices and wept aloud. Surely he who sent his spirit to breathe upon them, will hear their cry and help them.

"Saturday; 12th.—I preached on *the righteousness of the law*, and *the righteousness of faith*. While I was speaking, several dropped down as dead; and among the rest such a cry was heard, of sinners groaning for '*the righteousness of faith,*' as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy and broke out into thanksgiving; being assured, they now had the desire of their soul, the forgiveness of their sins.

"I observed a gentleman there, who was remarkable for not pretending to be of any religion at all. I was informed he had not been at public worship of any kind for upwards of thirty years. Seeing him stand as motionless as a statue, I asked him abruptly, 'Sir, are you a

anner?" He replied with a deep and broken voice, 'Sinner enough!' and continued staring upwards, till his wife, and a servant or two, who were all in tears, put him into a chaise, and carried him home.

"*Sunday 13th.*—At six, I preached for the last time in Epworth church-yard, (being to leave the town the next morning,) to a vast multitude gathered together from all parts, on the beginning of our Lord's sermon on the Mount. I continued among them for near three hours: and yet we scarce knew how to part. O let none think his labor of love is lost, because the fruit does not immediately appear! Near forty years did my father labor here: but he saw little fruit of all his labor. I took some pains among this people too; and my strength also seemed spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared. There were scarce any in the town, on whom either my father or I had taken any pains formerly, but the seed sown so long since, now sprung up, bringing forth repentance and remission of sins."

On another visit to Epworth, he observes, "Sunday, January 2d, 1743.—At five, I preached on, '*So is every one who is born of the Spirit.*' About eight I preached from my father's tomb, on Heb. viii, 11. Many from the neighboring towns, asked, 'If it would not be well, as it was Sacrament Sunday, for them to receive it?'—I told them, by all means. But it would be more respectable first, to ask Mr. Romley, the curate's leave. One did so in the name of the rest; to whom he said, 'Pray tell Mr. Wesley, I shall not give *him* the sacrament, for he is not fit.'

"How wise a God is our God! There could not have been so fit a place, under heaven, where this should befall me first, as my father's house, the place of my nativity, and the very place where, *according to the strictest sect of our religion*, I had so long *lived a Pharisee!*—It was also fit in the highest degree, that he who repelled me from that very table, where I had myself so often distributed the bread of life, should be one who owed his all in this world, to the tender love which my father had shown to his, as well as personally to himself."(*)

On a subsequent visit to Newcastle, where his brother Charles had been preaching some weeks before, with great success, a society was formed. The next morning Mr. Wesley began to preach at five

*I have documents before me which abundantly prove this.

o'clock, a thing unheard of in those parts, till he introduced the practice; which he did every where, if there was any probability that a few persons could be gathered to hear him. On the 18th, he says, "I could not but observe the different manner wherein God is pleased to work in different places. The grace of God flows here, with a wider stream than it did at first either at Bristol, or Kingswood. But it does not sink so deep as it did there. Few are thoroughly convinced of sin, and scarce any can witness, that the Lamb of God has taken away their sins. I never saw," says he, "a work of God in any other place, so evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rises step by step. Not so much seems to be done at any one time, as hath frequently been done at Bristol or London; but something at every time. It is the same with particular souls. I saw none in the triumph of faith, which has been so common in other places. But the believers go on calm and steady. Let God do as seemeth him good."

Dec. 20th—Having obtained a piece of ground, forty yards in length, to build a house for their meetings and public worship, they laid the first stone of the building. It being computed, that such a house as was proposed, could not be finished under seven hundred pounds, many were positive it would never be finished at all. "I was of another mind," says Mr. Wesley, "nothing doubting, but as it was begun for God's sake, he would provide what was needful for the finishing of it."

Mr. Wesley informed me, that he had one pound six shillings when he undertook to build the preaching-house at Newcastle, at that time the largest in England. Soon after he began, he received a letter from a pious Quaker, (who had heard of the work at Newcastle,) in the following terms:—"Friend Wesley, I have had a dream concerning thee. I thought I saw thee surrounded with a large flock of sheep, which thou didst not know what to do with. My first thought after I awoke was, that it was thy flock at Newcastle, and that thou hadst no house of worship for them. I have enclosed a note for one hundred pounds, which may help thee to provide a house."—The building rose by supplies received from time to time, like Professor Francke's at Halle, and Mr. Wesley called it by the same name,—*"The Orphan House."*

While Mr. Wesley thus went on in the work of the Lord, the spurious works of man sometimes encountered him. Having received a letter pressing him to go without delay into Leicestershire, he set out. "The next afternoon," says he, "I stopped a little at Newport-Pagnell, and then rode on till I overtook a serious man, with whom I immediately fell into conversation. He presently gave me to know what his opinions were; therefore I said nothing to contradict them. But that did not content him; he was quite uneasy to know, 'Whether I held the doctrine of the *decrees* as he did.' But I told him over and over, we had better keep to practical things, lest we should be angry at one another. And so we did for two miles, till he caught me unawares, and dragged me into the dispute before I knew where I was. He then grew warmer and warmer; told me, I was rotten at heart: and supposed I was one of John Wesley's followers. I told him, No, I am John Wesley himself. Upon which he appeared,

Improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem

Pressit——

'As one who had unawares trodden on a snake.' and would gladly have run away outright. But being the better mounted of the two, I kept close to his side, and endeavored to show him his heart, till we came into the street of Northampton."

As the various societies now began to walk by rule, and to be trained up in the discipline as well as the doctrines of the Lord, I shall here give a circumstantial account of *the discipline* which was gradually introduced among them; only observing, that there was no previous design or plan at all, but every thing arose just as the occasion offered. And as this is so delicate and so important a part of Mr. Wesley's Life, and of the History of that revival of religion, in which he was the chief instrument, I shall give the relation in his own words.

With regard to the formation of the Societies, he observes, "It quickly appeared, that their thus uniting together answered the end proposed. In a few months the far greater part of those who had begun to *'fear God and work righteousness,'* but were not united together, grew faint in their minds, and fell back into what they were before. Meanwhile the far greater part of those who were thus united together continued *'striving to enter in at the straight gate,'* and *'to lay hold on eternal life.'*

"But as much as we endeavored to watch over each other, we soon found some who did not *live the Gospel*. I know not, that any hypocrites were crept in; for indeed there was no temptation. But several grew cold, and gave way to the sins which had long easily beset them. We quickly perceived, that there were many ill consequences of suffering them to remain among us. It was dangerous to others, inasmuch as all sin is of an infectious nature. It brought such a scandal on their brethren as exposed them to what was not properly, '*the reproach of Christ*.' It laid a stumbling-block in the way of others, and caused the truth to be evil-spoken of.

"We groaned under these inconveniences, long, before a remedy could be found. At length, while we were thinking of quite another thing, we struck upon a method for which we have cause to bless God ever since. I was talking with several of the Society in Bristol, concerning the means of paying the debts there; when one stood up and said, 'Let every member of the Society give a *penny* a week till all are paid.' Another answered, 'But many of them are poor, and cannot afford to do it.' 'Then,' said he, 'put eleven of the poorest with me, and if they can give any thing, well. I will call on them weekly, and if they can give nothing, I will give for them as well as for myself. And each of you call on eleven of your neighbors weekly; receive what they give, and make up what is wanting.' It was done. In a while some of these informed me, 'they found such and such a one did not live as he ought.' It struck me immediately, 'This is the thing, the very thing we have wanted so long.' I called together all the leaders of the classes (so we used to term them and their companions,) and desired, that each would make a particular inquiry into the behavior of those whom he saw weekly: they did so. Many disorderly walkers were detected. Some turned from the evil of their ways. Some were put away from us. Many saw it with fear and rejoiced unto God with reverence.

"As soon as possible the same method was used in London and all other places. Evil men were detected, and reprov'd. They were borne with for a season. If they forsook their sins, we received them gladly; if they obstinately persisted therein, it was openly declared, that they were not of us. The rest mourned and prayed for them, and yet

rejoiced, that, as far as in us lay, the scandal was rolled away from the Society.

"About this time, I was informed, that several persons in Kingswood frequently met together at the School, and, (when they could spare the time,) spent the greater part of the night in prayer and praise and thanksgiving. Some advised me to put an end to this ; but, upon weighing the thing thoroughly, and comparing with the practice of the ancient Christians, (*) I could see no cause to forbid it. Rather, I believed, it might be made of more genera use. So I sent them word, I designed to watch with them, on the Friday nearest the full-moon, that we might have light thither and back again. I gave public notice of this the Sunday before, and, withal, that I intended to preach ; desiring, they and they only would meet me there, who could do it without prejudice to their business or families. On Friday abundance of people came. I began preaching between eight and nine ; and we continued till a little beyond the noon of night, singing, praying and praising God.

"This we have continued to do once a month ever since, in Bristol, London, and Newcastle, as well as King'swood; and exceeding great are the blessings we have found therein. It has generally been an extremely solemn season ; when the word of God sunk deep into the hearts, even of those who, till then, knew him not. If it be said, 'This was only owing to the novelty of the thing, (the circumstance which still draws such multitudes together at those seasons,) or, perhaps, to the awful silence of the night ; I am not careful to answer in this matter. Be it so : However, the impression then made on many souls has never since been effaced. Now, allowing that God did make use either of the novelty or any other indifferent circumstance, in order to bring sinners to repentance, yet they are brought. And herein let us rejoice together.

"Nay, may I not put the case farther yet ? if I can probably conjecture, that, either by the novelty of this ancient custom, or by any other indifferent circumstance, it is in my power to '*save a soul from death, and hide a multitude of sins,*' am I clear before God, if I do it not ?—if I do not snatch that brand out of the burning ?

(*) The Vigils, or Eves of particular days, mentioned in our book of Common Prayer, were such Watch-nights.

"As the Society increased, I found it required still greater care to separate the precious from the vile. In order to this, I determined at least once in three months, to talk with every member myself, and to inquire at their own mouths, as well as of their Leaders and neighbors, whether they grew in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ? At these seasons, I likewise particularly inquire, whether there be any misunderstanding or differences among them? that every hinderance of peace and brotherly love may be taken out of the way.

"To each of those, of whose seriousness and good conversation I found no reason to doubt, I gave a testimony under my own hand, by writing their name on a ticket prepared for that purpose; every ticket implying as strong a recommendation of the person to whom it was given, as if I had wrote at length, 'I believe the bearer hereof to be one that fears God and works righteousness.'

"Those who bore these tickets, (these *Sumbola*,(*) or *Tesserae* as the ancients term them, being of just the same force with the *epistolai susatikai*, *Commendatory letters*, mentioned by the Apostle;) wherever they came, were acknowledged by their brethren, and received with all cheerfulness. These were likewise of use in other respects. By these it was easily distinguished when the society were to meet apart, who were members of it, and who not. These also supplied us with a quiet and inoffensive method of removing any disorderly member. He has no new ticket at the quarterly visitation; (for so often the tickets are changed;) and hereby it is immediately known, that he is no longer of this community."

(*) For want of Greek characters, I have substituted Italics in the orthography of Greek words.

CHAPTER IV.

General progress of Religion with the Persecution that followed.

Mr. Wesley having now several helpers after his own heart, the work of God prospered in many places. Many societies were formed in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Leicestershire, Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, and in several parts of Yorkshire. And those in London, Bristol, Kingswood, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were much increased.

But as in the beginning of Christianity, so it was now: *This sect was every where spoken against.* But its enemies were not content with this. In the year 1740 several rioters, who had long disturbed the meetings in Bristol, were emboldened by impunity. Their numbers also increased, so as to fill not only the court before the preaching house, but a considerable part of the street. The Mayor sent them orders to disperse; but they set him at defiance. He then despatched several of his officers, who took the ringleaders into custody. The next day they were brought into court, it being the time of the quarter sessions. There they received a severe reprimand; and from that time the society in Bristol enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace.

In London the rioters were not so easily subdued. They assembled at various places and frequently treated Mr. Wesley and many of his serious hearers in a shameful manner. They followed them with showers of stones, and once attempted to unroof the Foundery, where the congregation was assembled, and had nearly accomplished their design. The common cry was, "You may treat them as you please, for there is no law for them." But Sir John Ganson, the chairman of the Middlesex justices, called on Mr. Wesley and informed him "that he had no need to suffer these riotous mobs to molest him;" adding, "Sir, I and the other Middlesex magistrates have *orders from above* to do you justice whenever you apply to us." A short time after he did apply. Justice was done, though not with rigor; and from that period the society had peace in London. It was very confidently stated, in that day, that when the question concerning the persecutions suffered by the societies at this time, came before the council, the king

declared, that "no man in his dominions should be persecuted on the account of religion while he sat on the throne." His late majesty also, and indeed all that dynasty, have acted on the same principle.

A remarkable circumstance, which Mr. Wesley related to me, may throw considerable light on those "orders from above." One of the original society of Methodists at Oxford, on the departure of its founders from the university, after seeking for others like-minded, at length joined the society of Quakers and settled at Kew. Being a man of considerable property, and of exemplary behavior, he was much respected and favored with free permission to walk in the royal gardens. Here he frequently met the king, who conversed freely with him, and with much apparent satisfaction. Upon one of those occasions, his majesty knowing that he had been at Oxford, inquired if he knew the Messrs. Wesleys, adding, "They make a great noise in the nation." The gentleman replied, "I know them well, King George; and thou mayest be assured that thou hast not two better men in thy dominions, nor men that love thee better, than John and Charles Wesley." He then proceeded to give some account of their principles and conduct; with which the king seemed much pleased.—When Mr. Wesley had concluded, I said, "We see, sir, the Lord can bring a tale to the ear of the king." He replied, with much feeling, "O! I have always found the blessedness of a *single eye*,—of leaving all to Him."

However, the rioters in the country, particularly in Staffordshire, were not so easily quelled. In the beginning of 1743, Mr. Wesley visited Wednesbury, and preached in the town-hall morning and evening, and also in the open air. He likewise visited the parts adjacent, and more especially those which were inhabited by colliers. Many appeared to be deeply affected, and about a hundred desired to join together. In two or three months these were increased to between three and four hundred, and upon the whole enjoyed much peace. But in the summer following there was an entire change. Mr. Egginton, the minister of Wednesbury, with several neighboring justices of the peace, stirred up the basest of the people, on which such outrages followed as were a scandal to the Christian name. Riotous mobs were summoned together by the sound of a horn; men, women, and children, were abused in the most shocking manner; being beaten, stoned,

and covered with mud : some, even pregnant women, were treated in a manner that cannot be mentioned. In the mean time, their houses were broken open by any that pleased, and their goods spoiled or carried away ; some of the owners standing by, but not daring to oppose, as it would have been at the peril of their lives. Mr. Wesley's own account of those riots, as far as they related to himself, is so remarkable, that I make no scruple of inserting it at large.

" Thursday, October 20, 1743.—After preaching at Birmingham, I rode to Wednesbury. At twelve I preached in a ground near the middle of the town, to a far larger congregation than was expected, on '*Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and for ever.*' I believe every one present felt the power of God, and no creature offered to molest us.

" I was writing at Francis Ward's in the afternoon, when the cry arose that 'the mob had beset the house.' We prayed that God would disperse them. And it was so ; so that in half an hour not a man was left. I told our brethren, 'Now is the time for us to go ;' but they pressed me exceedingly to stay. So, that I might not offend them, I sat down, though I foresaw what would follow. Before five the mob surrounded the house again in greater numbers than ever.—The cry of one and all was, 'Bring out the minister ; we *will* have the minister.' I desired one to take their captain by the hand and bring him into the house. After a few sentences interchanged between us, the lion was become a lamb. I desired him to go and bring one or two of the most angry of his companions. He brought in two, who were ready to swallow the ground with rage ; but in two minutes they were as calm as he. I then bade them make way, that I might go out among the people. As soon as I was in the midst of them I called for a chair, and standing up, asked, 'What do any of you want with me?' Some said, 'We want you to go with us to the justice.' I replied, 'That I will with all my heart !' I then spoke a few words, which God applied ; so that they cried out with might and main, 'The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and we will spill our blood in his defence !' I asked, 'Shall we go to the justice to-night, or in the morning?' Most of them cried, 'To-night ! To-night !' On which I went before, and two or three hundred followed.

"The night came before we had walked a mile, together with heavy rain. However, on we went to Bently-Hall, two miles from Wednesday. One or two ran before to tell Mr. Lane, 'They had brought Mr. Wesley before his worship.'—Mr. Lane replied, 'What have I to do with Mr. Wesley? Go and carry him back again.' By this time the main body came up and began knocking at the door. A servant told them, 'Mr. Lane was in bed.'—His son followed and asked, 'What was the matter?'—One replied, 'Why, an't please you, they sing psalms all day; nay, and make folks rise at five in the morning. And what would your worship advise us to do?'—'To go home,' said Mr. Lane, 'and be quiet.'

"Here they were at full stop, till one advised, 'To go to justice Persehouse at Walsal.'—All agreed to this. So we hastened on, and about seven came to his house. But Mr. Persehouse likewise sent word that 'he was in bed.' Now they were at a stand again; but at last, they all thought it the wisest course to make the best of their way home. About fifty of them undertook to convey me. But we had not gone a hundred yards, when the mob of Walsal, came, pouring in like a flood, and bore down all before them. The Darlaston mob made what defence they could; but they were weary, as well as outnumbered. So that in a short time many being knocked down, the rest ran away and left me in their hands.

"To attempt speaking was vain; for the noise on every side was like the roaring of the sea. So they dragged me along till we came to the town; where seeing the door of a large house open I attempted to go in; but a man, catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. They made no more stop till they had carried me through the main street. I continued speaking all the time to those hearing, feeling no pain or weariness. At the west end of the town, seeing a door half open, I made toward it and would have gone in, but a gentleman in the shop would not suffer me, saying, 'They would pull the house down to the ground.'—However, I stood at the door, and asked, 'Are you willing to hear me speak?'—Many cried out, 'No, no! Knock his brains out! Down with him! Kill him at once!' Others said, 'Nay; but we will hear him first!'—I began asking, What evil have I done? Which of you all, have I

wronged in word or deed?" and continued speaking above a quarter of an hour, till my voice suddenly failed. Then the floods began to lift up their voice again; many crying out, 'Bring him away! Bring him away!'

"In the mean time my strength and my voice returned, and I broke out aloud into prayer. And now the man who just before headed the mob, turned and said, 'Sir, I will spend my life for you. Follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.'—Two or three of his fellows confirmed his words and got close to me immediately. At the same time the gentleman in the shop cried out, 'For shame! For shame! Let him go!'—An honest butcher who was a little farther off said, 'It was a shame they should do thus; and pulled back four or five, one after another, who were running on the most fiercely. The people then, as if it had been by common consent, fell back to the right and left; while those three or four men took me between them and carried me through them all. But on the bridge the mob rallied again; we therefore went on one side, over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows, till a little before ten, when God brought me safe to Wednesbury; having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.

"I never saw such a chain of providences before; so many convincing proofs that the hand of God is on every person and thing overruling as it seemeth him good.

"A poor woman of Darlaston, who had headed that mob, and sworn that 'none should touch me,' when she saw her fellows give way, ran into the thickest of the throng and knocked down three or four men one after another. But many assaulting her at once she was soon overpowered, and had probably been killed in a few minutes, (three men keeping her down and beating her with all their might,) had not a man called out to them, 'Hold, Tom, hold!'—Who is there?" said Tom. What honest Munchin? Nay, then let her go!"—So they held their hands and let her get up and crawl home as well as she could.

"From the beginning to the end, I found the same presence of mind as if I had been sitting in my study. But I took no thought for one moment before another; only once it came into my mind, that

if they should throw me into the river, it would spoil the papers that were in my pocket. For myself, I did not doubt but I should swim across, having but a thin coat, and a light pair of boots.

"By how gentle degrees does God prepare us for his will ! Two years ago a piece of brick grazed my shoulders. It was a year after that a stone struck me between the eyes. Last month I received one blow, and this evening two,—one before we came into the town, and one after we were out. But both were as nothing : for though one man struck me on the breast with all his might, and the other on the mouth with such a force that the blood gushed out immediately, I felt no more pain from either of the blows than if they had touched me with a straw.

"It ought not to be forgotten, that when the rest of the society made all haste to escape for their lives, four only would not stir, William Sitch, Edward Slater, John Griffiths and John Parks : these kept by me, resolving to live or die together. And none of them received a blow but William Sitch, who held me by the arm from one end of the town to the other. He was then dragged away and knocked down ; but he soon rose and got to me again. I afterwards asked him ' What he expected when the mob came upon us ? '—He said, ' To die for him who had died for us ; ' and added, that ' he felt no hurry or fear, but calmly waited till God should require his soul of him.'

"When I came back to Francis Ward's I found many of our brethren waiting upon God. Many also whom I had never seen before, came to rejoice with us. And the next morning, as I rode through the town, on my way to Nottingham, every one I met expressed such a cordial affection, that I could scarce believe what I saw and heard."

The persecution Mr. Wesley met with in Falmouth and its neighborhood, is so remarkable, that I shall give his own description of it ; and this, with the account of the persecution at Wednesbury, will afford my readers some idea of the sufferings Mr. Wesley endured in the commencement of his extensive labors.

"Thursday, July 4.—I rode to Falmouth. About three in the afternoon I went to see a gentlewoman, who had been indisposed.—Almost as soon as I sat down, the house was beset on all sides by an

innumerable multitude of people. A louder and more confused noise could hardly be at the taking of a city by storm. At first Mrs. B. and her daughter endeavored to quiet them: but it was labor lost. They might as well have attempted to still the raging of the sea, and were soon glad to shift for themselves. The rabble roared with all their throats, 'Bring out the *Canorum*! Where is the *Canorum*?' (an unmeaning word which the Cornish rabble then used instead of *Methodist*.) No answer being given, they quickly forced open the outer door and filled the passage. Only a wainscot partition was between us, which was not likely to stand long. I immediately took down a large looking-glass which hung against it, supposing the whole side would fall in at once. They began their work with abundance of bitter imprecations. A poor girl who was left in the house was utterly astonished, and cried out, 'O sir, what must we do?'—I said, 'We must pray.'—Indeed at that time, to all appearance, our lives were not worth an hour's purchase.—She asked, 'But, sir, is it not best for you to hide yourself? To get into the closet?'—I answered, 'No. It is best for me to stand just where I am.' Among those without were the crews of some privateers, which were lately come into the harbor. Some of these, being angry at the slow pass of the rest, thrust them away, and coming up altogether, set their shoulders to the inner door, and cried out, 'Avast, lads, avast!' Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell back into the room. I stepped forward into the midst of them and said, 'Here I am! Which of you has any thing to say to me? To which of you have I done any wrong? To you? Or you? Or you?' I continued speaking till I came into the middle of the street, and then raising my voice said, 'Neighbors, countrymen! Do you desire to hear me speak?' They cried vehemently, 'Yes, yes! He shall speak. He shall. Nobody shall hinder him.' But having nothing to stand on, and no advantage of ground, I could be heard by a few only. However, I spoke without intermission; and as the sound reached the people they were still, till one or two of their captains turned about and swore, 'Not a man should touch him.' Mr. Thomas a clergyman, then came up and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to use a stranger thus?' He was soon seconded by two or three gentlemen of the town, and one of the aldermen, with whom I walked

down the town, speaking all the time till I came to Mrs. Maddern's house. The gentlemen proposed sending for my horse to the door, and desired me to step in and rest the mean time. But on second thought, they judged it not advisable to let me go out among the people again. So they chose to send my horse before me to Penryn, and to send me thither by water; the sea running close by the back door of the house in which we were.

"I never saw before, no, not at Walsal itself, the hand of God so plainly shown as here. *There* I had some companions, who were willing to die with me; *here*, not a friend but one simple girl; who likewise was hurried away from me in an instant as soon as ever she came out of Mrs. B's. house. *There* I received some blows, lost part of my cloathes, and was covered over with dirt. *Here*, although the hands of perhaps some hundreds of people were lifted up to strike or throw, they were one and all stopped in the midway, so that not a man touched me with one of his fingers. Neither was any thing thrown from first to last, so that I had not even a speck of dirt on my cloathes. Who can deny that God heareth the prayer? or that he hath all power in heaven and earth?"

In September, Mr. Wesley received a letter from Mr. Henry Millard, one of the preachers, in Cornwall, giving some account of their difficulties. "The word of God," says he, "has free course here, it runs and is glorified. But the Devil rages horribly, even at St. Ives. We cannot shut the door of John Nance's house, to meet the Society, but the mob immediately threatens to break it open. And in other places it is worse. I was going to Crowan on Tuesday, and within a quarter of a mile of the place where I was to preach, some met me, and begged me not to go up, saying, "if you do there will surely be murder, if there is not already, for many were knocked down before we came away." By their advice, I turned back to the house where I had left my horse. We had been there but a short time when many people came in very bloody. But the main cry of the mob was, 'Where is the preacher;' whom they sought for in every part of the house, swearing bitterly, "if we can knock him on the head we shall be satisfied." Not finding me, they said, 'We must

catch him on Sunday at Cambourn!" But it was Mr. Westall's(*) turn to be there. While he was preaching at Mr. Harris's, a tall man came in, and pulled him down. Mr. Harris demanded his warrant, but he swore "warrant or no warrant, he shall go with me;" so he carried him out to the mob, who took him away to the church town. They kept him there till Tuesday morning, when the Rev. Mr. Borlase wrote his mittimus, by virtue of which he was to be committed to the house of correction at Bodmin.

The Justices who met at next Quarter Sessions in Bodmin, knowing a little of the laws of God and man, or at least, showing more regard for them than Dr. Borlase, declared Mr. Westall's commitment to be contrary to law, and immediately set him at liberty.

The preachers in the different parts of the kingdom were permitted to 'drink of the same cup,' yea, in many instances, they suffered greater persecutions than Mr. Wesley himself. Stones, dirt, and rotten eggs, were the common weapons of the mob. In some instances, as in that of Mr. Thomas Mitchell, (†) they were thrown into ponds of water, and held down till they were nearly drowned. Applications were made for redress to the neighbouring magistrates, but generally in vain. They then, under the patronage of Mr. Wesley, had recourse to the court of King's Bench, and in every instance, found the most ample justice. The Judges of that Court acted on every occasion with the greatest uprightness and impartiality; the consequence of which was, that in many places peace was restored.

About the time of the persecution in Cornwall, John Nelson, of Birstal in Yorkshire, who has been mentioned before, and Thomas

(*) Thomas Westall was a simple upright man whose word the Lord had greatly blessed. Mr. Wesley at first thought as in the case of Thomas Maxfield, to silence him. But Mrs. Canning a pious old lady of Evesham, said, 'Stop him at your peril. He preaches the truth, and the Lord owns him as truly as he does you or your brother.'

(†) A plain, forcible preacher, greatly owned of God, especially to the poor. The late Dr. Hey, of Leeds, used to call upon Dr. Priestley, who then also lived at Leeds, and take him to the Methodist chapel. On one of those occasions, the preacher happened to be Mr. Mitchell, Dr. Hey, who was rather nice in hearing, was mortified that his philosophical friend should be led to hear so plain a preacher. On their return, however, he ventured to ask the doctor what he thought of the sermon. He replied, "that he thought it admirable!" But perceiving his friend's surprise, he added, "Other men may do good, Dr. Hey, but that man must do good, for he aims at nothing else."

Beard, an honest industrious man, were pressed and sent off as soldiers, for no other crime, either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. John Nelson was, after much ill usage released by an order from the secretary at war, and preached the gospel many years. But Thomas Beard sunk under his oppressions. He was then lodged at the hospital at Newcastle, where he praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was bled. His arm festered, mortified, and was cut off: two or three days after which, God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

Notwithstanding this brutal opposition, Mr. Wesley preached in most of the towns in Cornwall, and the seed sown, through the blessing of God, produced a plentiful harvest. Perhaps there is no part of these kingdoms where there has been a more general change. *Hurling*, their favorite but most brutal diversion, at which limbs were frequently broken and lives lost, is now hardly heard of: and that scandal of humanity, which had been so constantly practised on all the coasts of Cornwall, *the plundering vessels that struck upon the rocks, and often murdering those that escaped from the wreck*, is now well nigh at an end. But it is not harmlessness or outward decency alone which has evidenced the reality of their religion, but *faith working by love*, producing all inward and outward holiness.

While Mr. Wesley, thus, by his Divine Master, 'endured the cross, despising the shame,' his brother Mr. C. Wesley was called to drink of the same cup. He had labored in the preceding year in the neighborhood of Bristol till the 17th of May, when he set out for the north. He preached at Painswick, and then visited Stroud, Evesham, and several other places; and on the 20th, he observes, "I got once more to our dear colliers at Wednesbury. Here the seed has taken root, and many are added to the church. A society of more than three hundred are seeking full redemption in the cleansing blood of Christ. The enemy rages exceedingly against them. A few here have returned railing for railing; but the generality have behaved as followers of Christ Jesus.

"May 21.—I spent the morning in conference with several who 'have received the atonement' under my brother's ministry. I saw the piece of ground to build a chapel upon, given us by a Dissenter.

I walked with many of our brethren to Walsal, singing as we went. We were received with the old complaint, 'Behold these that turn the world upside down are come hither also.' We walked through the town amidst the noisy greetings of our enemies. I stood in the steps of the market-house. A host of men came against us; and they lifted up their voice and raged horribly. I preached from these words, '*But none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself so that I might finish my course with joy,*' &c. the street was full of fierce Ephesian beasts, (the principal man setting them on,) who roared and shouted and threw stones incessantly. At the conclusion, a stream of ruffians was suffered to beat me down from the steps; I rose, and, having given the blessing, was beat down again, and so a third time. When we had returned thanks to the God of our salvation, I then from the steps bid them depart in peace, and walked through the thickest of the rioters. They reviled us but had no commission to touch a hair of our head.

May 26th.—In the afternoon I came to the flock in Sheffield, who are as sheep among wolves; the minister having so stirred up the people that they are ready to tear the Methodists in pieces. At six o'clock I went to the society house, next door to our brother Bennet's. Hell from beneath seemed moved to oppose us. As soon as I was in the desk with David Taylor, the floods began to lift up their voice. An officer in the army contradicted and blasphemed. I took no notice of him but sang on. The stones flew thick, striking the desk and the people. To save them, and the house from being pulled down, I gave out that I should preach in the street and look them in the face. The whole army of the aliens followed me. The captain laid hold on me and began rioting: I gave him *A word in season, or advice to a soldier*. I then prayed, particularly for his Majesty king George, and preached the gospel although with much contention. The stones often struck me in the face. I prayed for sinners, as servants of their master the devil; upon which the captain ran at me with great fury, threatening revenge for abusing, as he called it 'the king his master.' He forced his way through the brethren, drew his sword and presented it to my breast. I immediately opened my breast, and fixing my eye on his, and smiling in his face, calmly said, 'I fear God and honor the

king.' His countenance fell in a moment, he fetched a deep sigh, and putting up his sword, quietly left the place. He had said to one of the company, who afterward informed me, 'You shall see if I do but hold my sword to his breast he will faint away. So perhaps I should, had I only his principles to trust to but if at that time I was not afraid, no thanks to my natural courage. We returned to our brother Bennet's, and gave ourselves up to prayer. The rioters followed, and exceeded in outrage all I have seen before. Those at Moorfields, Cardiff, and Walsal, were lambs to these. As there is no king in Israel, I mean no magistrate in Sheffield, every man doth as seemeth good in his own eyes.'

The mob now formed the design of pulling down the society house, and set upon their work while Mr. C. Wesley and the people were praying and praising God within. "It was a glorious time," says he, "with us: every word of exhortation sunk deep, every prayer was sealed, and many found *the spirit of glory resting upon them*."*—The next day the house was completely pulled down, not one stone being left upon another: "nevertheless," said Mr. Wesley to a friend, "'the foundation standeth sure;' and '*our house, not made with hands, is eternal in the heavens*.'"—This day he preached again in the street, somewhat more quietly than before. In the evening the rioters being very noisy again, threatened to pull down the house where Mr. C. Wesley lodged. He went out to them, and read the riot act, and made a suitable exhortation. They soon afterward separated, and peace was restored.

May 27.—At five in the morning he took leave of the society in these words, '*Confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith; and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.*' He observes, "Our hearts were knit together, and greatly comforted: we rejoiced in hope of 'the glorious appearing of the great God,' who had now delivered us out of the mouth of the lions. David Taylor informed me that the people of Thorpe through which we should pass, were exceedingly mad against us. So we found them as we approached the place and were turning down the lane to Barley-Hall. The ambush rose and assaulted us with stones, eggs, and dirt. My horse flew from side to side till he found

* 1 Pet. iv, 24.

his way through them. They wounded D. Taylor in the forehead, and the wound bled much. I turned back and asked, what was the reason why a clergyman could not pass without such treatment? At first the rioters scattered, but, their captain rallying them answered with horrible imprecations and stones. My horse took fright, and turned away with me down a steep hill. The enemy pursued me from afar, and followed shouting. Blessed be God, I received no hurt, only from the eggs and dirt. My clothes indeed abhorred me, and my arm pained me a little from a blow I received at Sheffield."

Notwithstanding this, he spent an hour or two with some sincere persons assembled at Barley Hall. By four o'clock in the afternoon, he preached at Bristol, a land of rest. Here they had peace in all their borders. Great multitudes were bowed down by the victorious power of gospel truth. "It was," says Mr. Wesley, "a time much to be remembered, for the gracious rain wherewith our God refreshed us"

May 29, he informs us in his journal, that not a year before, he came to Leeds and found no man who cared for the things of God.— "But," he observes, "a spark has fallen in this place also, and it will kindle a great flame. I met the infant society, about fifty in number, most of them justified, and exhorted them to walk circumspectly. At seven o'clock I stood before Mr. Shents door and cried to thousands, "Ho every-one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters." The word took place; they gave diligent heed to it, and seemed a people prepared for the Lord: I went to the great church and was showed to the Minister's pew. Five clergymen were there, who a little confounded me, by making me take place of my elders and betters.

They obliged me to help in administering the sacrament; I assisted with eight more ministers, for whom my soul was drawn out in prayer. But I dreaded their favor more than the stones at Sheffield." He was afraid he should melt in this sunshine.

"May 30.—My horse threw me and fell upon me. My companion thought I had broken my neck; but my leg only was bruised, my hand sprained, and my head stunned, which spoiled me from *making hymns*, (*) or thinking at all in that way till the next day, when the

(*) He composed his finest hymns while engaged in those labors, and often on horseback.

Lord brought us to Newcastle. At seven o'clock I went to the room which will contain about two thousand persons. We rejoiced for the consolation of our mutual faith.

"June 16, I set out for Sunderland with strong aversion to preaching. I addressed myself to about a thousand wild people, and cried 'O Israel thou hast destroyed thyself but in me is thy help.' Never have I seen greater attention in any people at their first hearing the word.

We rode to Shields, went to church, and the people flocked in crowds after me. The minister spoke so low that he could not be heard in reading prayers, but I heard him loud enough afterwards, calling to the church wardens to quiet the disturbance which none but himself had raised. I fancy he thought I should preach in the church where I stood, like some of the Quakers. The clerk came to me bawling out, 'It was consecrated ground, and I had no business to preach on it.' He stumbled however, on a good saying, 'If you have any word of exhortation to the people, speak to them without.' I did so, to a large multitude waiting in the church-yard, many of them very fierce, threatening to drown me, and what not. I walked through the midst of them, and discoursed in strong awakening words, on the jailors question, 'What must I do to be saved.' The church wardens and others, labored in vain to interrupt me, by throwing dirt and even money among the people. Having delivered my message, I rode to the ferry, crossed it, and met as rough friends on the other side. The mob of North Shields waited to salute me, with the minister at their head; he had got a man with a horn, instead of a trumpet, and bid him blow, and his companions shout. Others were almost as violent in their approbation. We went through honor and dishonor, but neither of them hurt us, and by six o'clock with God's blessing, we came safe to Newcastle. On the 16 of July, Mr. C. Wesley came safe to St. Ives. On the 17, he says, 'I rose and forgot that I had travelled from Newcastle. I spoke with some of this loving simple people, who were as sheep in the midst of wolves. Their priests stir up the people, and make their minds evil affected towards their brethren. Yet the sons of violence are checked by the Mayor, an honest Presbyterian, whom the Lord hath raised up. He informed Mr. C. Wesley, that the

ministers were the principal authors of all the mischief. In their sermons, they continually represented Mr. Wesley and the preachers as Popish emissaries, and urged the enraged multitude to use all means for their suppression. While he was preaching at St. Ives, on the 26, he observes, 'All was quiet; the Mayor having declared his resolution to swear twenty constables, and suppress the rioters by force of arms—their drum he had seized. All the time I was preaching, he stood at a little distance to awe the rioters. He has set the whole town against him, by not giving us up to their fury. But he plainly told Mr. Hoblin, the fire and faggot minister, that he would not be perjured to gratify any man's malice. He informed us that he had often heard Mr. Hoblin say, they ought to drive us away by blows, not by arguments.

During the riots, he one day observes, "I went to the church and heard that terrible chapter, Jeremiah the 7th,—enough one would think, to make even this hardened people tremble. Never were words more applicable than those, 'Stand in the gate of the Lord's house and proclaim there this word, and say, Hear the word of the Lord, all ye of Judah that enter in at these gates to worship the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place. Trust ye not in lying words, saying, *The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, The temple of the Lord, are these!* Behold ye trust in lying words that cannot profit. Will ye steal, murder, and commit adultery, and swear falsely—and come and stand before me in this house?' " &c.—Mr. C. Wesley informed me, that upon one of these occasions, after hearing himself abused in a sermon longer than usual, he remained in his pew when the congregation was dismissed, it being what is called sacrament-Sunday. The minister, perceiving him, called to the clerk, took him inside the rails, and talked with him for some time. The minister then proceeded with the service. When Mr. C. Wesley approached the table, the parson retreated, and the clerk came forward, and, holding out the large prayer-book, cried out, "Avaunt, Satan! avaunt!" Mr. C. Wesley remained for some time, but finding that nothing could quiet the zealous clerk, and that the minister remained stationary at the wall, he retired to his pew, and the service concluded.

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On Friday, August 24, 1744, Mr. John Wesley preached for the last time in Oxford, before the university. (*) He had preached to them twice before, since the time he began to declare the truth in the fields and highways. Those sermons are printed in the first volume of his Works, and are well worthy of a serious perusal. "I am now," says he, "clear of the blood of those men. I have fully delivered my own soul. And I am well pleased that it should be the very day on which, in the last century, near two thousand burning and shining lights were put out at one stroke. Yet what a wide difference is there between their case and mine! They were turned out of house and home, and all that they had; whereas I am only hindered from preaching without any other loss, and that in a kind of honorable manner; it being determined that when my next turn to preach came they would pay another person to preach for me. And so they did twice or thrice; even to the time that I resigned my fellowship."—They respected his general character, with which they were all well acquainted.

October 21.—Mr. C. Wesley observes, "My brother came delivered out of the mouth of the lions. His clothes were dirty and torn. He looked like a soldier of Christ. The mob of Wednesbury Darlston, and Walsal, were permitted to take and carry him about for several hours, with a full intention to murder him; but his work is not yet finished or he had been with the 'Souls under the Altar.'

"October 25.—I took several new members into society; among them, the young man whose arm had been broke, and Muchin, upon trial, the late captain of the mob. He has been constantly under the word ever since he rescued my brother. I asked him what he thought of him, 'Think of him, that he is a man of God, and God was on his side when so many of us could not kill one man.'" On the 31st, he sat out for Wales, and reached Cardiff on the 1 of November. "The gentlemen," says he, "had threatened great things, if I ever came

(*) Mr. C. Wesley came to Oxford on this occasion, where he met with his brother, the Rev. Messrs Piers, Meriton, and others. He observes in his Journal, "My brother bore his testimony before a crowded audience, much increased by the races. Never have I seen a more attentive congregation: they did not suffer a word to slip them. Some of the heads of colleges stood up the whole time and fixed their eyes upon him. If they can endure sound doctrine like his, he will surely leave a blessing behind him. The vice-chancellor sent after him and desired his notes, which he sealed up and sent immediately."

there again. I called in the midst of them, 'Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by,' &c. The love of God constrained me to speak, and them to hear. The word was irresistible. After it, one of the most violent opposers took me by the hand, and pressed me to come and see him. The rest were equally civil all the time I staid, only one drunkard made some disturbance, and when sober sent to ask my pardon.—The voice of praise and thanksgiving was in the society.

February 3.—Mr. C. Wesley preached in sight of Dudley, and then waited on the friendly captain Dudley, who had stood in the gap and kept off persecution, at Tippen Green, while it raged all around. The rioters now gave notice that they would come on the Tuesday following, and pull down the houses, and destroy the goods of the Methodists. "One would think," says Mr. C. Wesley, "there was no king in Israel. There is certainly no magistrate who will put them to shame in any thing."

Mr. Constable offered to make oath that their lives were in danger. But the justices refused it, saying, that they could do nothing; others of our brethren met with the same redress, being driven away with revilings. The magistrates do not, like those of old, *themselves* tear off their clothes, and beat them; they only stand by and see others do it. One of them told Mr. Jones, 'It was the best thing the mob ever did so to treat the Methodists; and he himself would give five pounds, to drive them out of the country!' Another, when our brother Ward begged his protection, delivered him up to the mercy of the mob, who had half murdered him before, and throwing his hat round his head, cried, "Huzza boys! Well done! Stand up for the Church!" Mr. C. Wesley adds, "No wonder that the mob so encouraged should say, there is no law for the Methodists. Accordingly like outlaws they treat them, breaking their houses, and taking away their goods at pleasure, extorting money from those who have it, and cruelly beating those who have it not. The rioters had the boldness to set up papers, inviting all the country to rise with them and destroy the Methodists. At noon, I returned to Birmingham, having continued two days in the lion's den unhurt."

Mr. C. Wesley and his friends at Nottingham, sent a person to Litchfield, to get intelligence of what mischief had been done in Staf-

fordshire, by the rioters in their threatened insurrection. He returned on the ninth, and Mr. C. Wesley gives the following account. "He met our brother Ward who had fled thither for refuge. The enemy had gone to the length of his chain: All the rabble of the county had gathered together, and laid waste all before them. I received a note from two of the sufferers, whose loss amounts to £200. My heart rejoiced in the great grace which was given them, for not one resisted evil."

CHAPTER V.

Accounts from Germany of the state of Religion in the English Army—The first Conference—The labors of Messrs. Wesleys and their coagitors—Mr. John Wesley's marriage—He resigns his fellowship.

That the principles of the Christian religion and the spirit and practice of war, stand directly opposed to each other, in their nature and final results, is sufficiently obvious, both from the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and the experience of the most devout and enlightened christians. And hence the conclusion follows, that whosoever strives to promote the spirit of war, or engages in its actual service, must grossly misapprehend, or abandon the spirit of Christ's religion and remain secluded from its salutary influence on their hearts.

But notwithstanding this general rule, if we view upon charitable principles the otherwise unexceptionable conduct of many, comparing their lives in the general with the gospel of Christ, and making proper allowances with all, for the influence of education, we cannot but admit that exceptions to the above rule may occur. And moreover, when we consider that many, in obedience to the laws of the land act conscientiously, and from a view of duty, in bearing arms, together with the undeniable proofs of their love to God and the souls of men, we are constrained more fully to acknowledge their validity. For, though one may be employed in a cause, which in its nature is both averse to his own feelings, and the religion he may profess, yet from interposing circumstances, he may feel that Christ is still his friend, and that through him he has favor with God.

This may solve the paradox, respecting a number of religious soldiers in the English army who were members of the Methodist society.

We are happy indeed, in being able to lay before our readers, documents which contain the most satisfactory evidence to this point: Examples affording ample proof, that while engaged in the most terrible scenes of human wretchedness, they participated largely in the Divine blessings, and proved that the grace of God was sufficient to secure and fortify their hearts, in the midst of those scenes, and to raise their souls in joyful transports while in the agonies of death. The following letters are much to our purpose.

“REVEREND SIR.—We marched to the camp near Brussels on the 1st of May, 1744. There, a few of us joined in a society, being sensible ‘where two, or three, are gathered together in his name, there is our Lord in the midst of them.’ Our place of meeting was a small wood near the camp. We remained in this camp eight days, and then removed to a place called Arsk. Here, I began to speak openly at a small distance from the camp, just in the middle of the English army. And here it pleased God to give me some evidences, that my labor was not in vain. We sung a hymn which drew about two hundred soldiers together, and they all behaved decently. After I had prayed, I began to exhort them, and though it rained very hard, yet very few went away. Many acknowledged the truth, in particular a young man, John Greenwood, who has kept with me ever since, and whom God has lately been pleased to give me for a fellow laborer. Our society is now increased to upward of two hundred, and the hearers frequently more than a thousand; although many say I am mad, and others have endeavored to incense the field marshal against us. I have been sent for and examined several times. But blessed be God, he has always delivered me.

“Many of the officers have come to hear for themselves; often nine or ten at a time. I endeavored to lose no opportunity. During our abode in the camp at Arsk, I have preached thirty-five times in seven days. One of those times, a soldier who was present, called aloud to his comrades to come away and not hear that fool any longer. But it pleased God to send the word spoken to his heart, so that he roared out in the bitterness of his soul, for a considerable time; and then, he who never fails those that seek him, turned his heaviness into joy. He is now never so happy, as when he is proclaiming the loving kindness of God his Savior.

"I was a little shocked at my first entrance on this great work, because I was alone, having none to help me. But the Lord helped me, and soon raised up William Clements, and in June, John Evans, belonging to the train (of artillery) to my assistance. Since we have been in this camp, we have built two small tabernacles, in which we meet at eight in the morning, at three in the afternoon, and seven at night, and commonly two whole nights in each week. (*)

"Since I began to write this, we are come to our quarters, so that our society is divided: some of us are in Burges, and some in Ghent. But it hath pleased the Lord to leave neither place without a teacher: for John Greenwood and I are in this city, and B. Clements, and Evans are in Ghent. So that we trust our Lord will carry on his work in both places. We that are in Burges, have hired a small place in which we meet, and our dear Lord is in the midst of us; many times the tears run down every face, and joy reigns in every heart.

"I shall conclude with full assurance of your prayers, with a longing desire to see you O! when will the joyful meeting be? Perhaps not on this side death. If not, my Master's will be done."

"Your unworthy brother in the Lord,

"JOHN HAIME."(†)

"To the Rev. Mr. Wesley.

October 10th, 1745.

"REVEREND SIR.

"I shall acquaint you with the Lord's dealings with us since April last. We marched from Ghent to Allost, on the 14, where I met with two or three of our brethren in the field, and we sung and prayed together, and were comforted. On the fifteenth, I met a small company about three miles from the town, and the Lord filled our hearts with love and peace. On the 17, we marched to camp near Brussels. On the 18, I met a small congregation on the side of the hill, and spoke from these words, '*Let us go forth therefore, to Him without the camp bearing his reproach.*' On the 28, I spoke from those words of Isaiah, '*Thus saith the Lord concerning the house of*

(*)One night the Duke of Northumberland came wrapt up in his cloak, and staid during the meeting. He afterwards gave orders that no one should hinder Haime.

(†)He was afterwards a travelling preacher in connection with Mr. Wesley.

Jacob: Jacob shall not now be ashamed, neither shall his face now wax pale. On the 29, we marched close to the enemy, and when I saw them in their camp, my bowels moved towards them in love, and pity for their souls. We lay on our arms all night. In the morning, April 30, the cannon began to play at half an hour after four, and the Lord took away all fear from me, so that I went into the field with joy. The balls flew on either hand, and men fell in abundance, but nothing touched me till about two o'clock, when I received a ball through my left arm, and rejoiced so much the more. Soon after I received another into my right, which obliged me to quit the field, but I scarce knew whether I was on earth or in heaven: it was one of the sweetest days I ever enjoyed.

"WILLIAM CLEMENTS."

"Leare, near Antwerp, Oct. 21, 7745.

"REVEREND SIR,—Since I wrote to you last I have gone through great trials. It was not the least that I have lost my dear brother Clements for a season, he being shot through both the arms. To try me farther, J. Evans and Bishop were both killed in the battle, as was J. Greenwood soon after. Two more, who spoke boldly in the name of Jesus, are fallen into the world again. So I am left alone; but I know it is for my good. Seeing iniquity so much abound, and the love of many wax cold, adds wings to my devotion, and my faith grows daily as a plant by the water side.

"The Lord has been pleased to try our little flock, and to show them his mighty power. Some days before the late battle, one of them, standing at his tent door, broke out into raptures of joy knowing his departure was at hand, and was so filled with the love of God that he danced before his comrades. In the battle before he died he openly declared, 'I am going to rest from my labors in the bosom of Jesus.' I believe nothing like this was ever heard of before in the midst of so wicked an army as ours. Some were crying out in their wounds, 'I am going to my Beloved!' others, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!' and many that were not wounded were crying to their Lord to take them to himself. There was such boldness in the battle among this little despised flock that it made the officers as well as common soldiers amazed; and they acknowledge it to this day. As to my own part I

stood the fire of the enemy for above seven hours. Then my horse was shot under me, and I was exposed both to the enemy and our own horse. But that did not discourage me at all; for I knew the God of Jacob was with me. I had a long way to go, the balls flying on every side; and thousands lay bleeding, groaning, dying, and dead on each hand. Surely I was in the fiery furnace, but it never singed one hair of my head. The hotter it grew the more strength was given me.— I was full of joy and love, as much as I could well bear. Going on I met one of our brethren with a little dish in his hand, seeking for water. He smiled and said, ‘he had got a sore wound in his leg.’ I asked, ‘Have you got Christ in your heart?’ He answered, ‘I have; and I have had him all the day. Blessed be God, that I ever saw your face.’ Lord, what am I, that I should be counted worthy to set my hand to the Gospel plough? Lord, humble me, and lay me in the dust!

“JOHN HAIME.”

The work in England now extended with a rapidity, which far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. For some years, the preachers moved round the kingdom as Mr. Wesley thought best from time to time, without any regular plan. But he now found it absolutely necessary, to divide the whole into circuits; appointing so many preachers to each circuit. This plan was attended with many difficulties, and it seemed at first, that the unity of the body could not be preserved, on account of the interests of the circuits. But a remedy was soon found for this threatening evil, viz. to summon annually a considerable number of the preachers, in order to consult together concerning the affairs of the Societies. The preachers thus met with him at their head, he termed ‘The Conference.’ His design in calling them together, was not merely for the regulation of the circuits, but also, for the reviewing their doctrines and discipline, and for the examination of their moral conduct; that those who were to minister in holy things, might be ‘thoroughly furnished for every good work, for the saving of their own souls, as well as them that heard them.’

The first Conference was held in London, June 25, 1744. It consisted of six clergymen, and a few lay preachers.

CONVERSATION I.

London, 25 of June, 1744.

It is desired, that all things be considered as in the immediate presence of God: that we may meet with a single eye, and as little children who have every thing to learn: that every thing which is proposed may be examined to the foundation: that every person may speak freely whatever is in his heart: and that every question which arises may be thoroughly debated and settled.

Q. 1. Need we be fearful of doing this? What are we afraid of? Of overturning our first principles?

A. If they are false, the sooner they are overturned the better. If they are true, they will bear the strictest examination. Let us pray for a willingness to receive light, to know of every doctrine, whether it be of God. (*)

Q. 2. How may the time of this conference be made more eminently a time of watching unto prayer?

A. While we are conversing, let us have an especial care to set God always before us. 2. In the intermediate hours, let us redeem all the time we can for private exercises. 3. Therein let us give ourselves to prayer for one another, and for a blessing on this our labor.

Q. 3. How far does each of us agree to submit to the judgment of the majority?

A. In speculative things, each one can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced; in every practical point, each will submit so far as he can without wounding his conscience.

Q. 4. Can a Christian submit any farther than this to any man, or number of men, upon earth?

A. It is plain he cannot; either to bishop, convocation, or general council. And this is that grand principle of private judgment on which all the reformers proceeded: "Every man must judge for himself, because every man must give an account of himself to God."

CONVERSATION II.

The design of the meeting was proposed, namely, to consider—
1. What to teach. 2. How to teach. And 3. What to do; i. e.

(*) Could any work that was not of God endure such an ordeal as this? Surely it is the Lord who maketh men to be thus of one mind in a house!

how to regulate our doctrine, discipline, and practice. [They began with considering the doctrine of *Justification* : The questions relating thereto, with the substance of the answers given, were as follows :]

Q. 1. What is it to be justified ?

A. To be pardoned and received into God's favor : into such a state, that, if we continue therein, we shall be finally saved.

Q. 2. Is faith the condition of justification ?

A. Yes, for every one who believeth not is condemned ; and every one who believeth is justified.

Q. 3. But must not repentance, and works meet for repentance, go before this faith ?

A. Without doubt : if by *repentance* you mean conviction of sin ; and by 'works meet for repentance,' obeying God as far as we can, forgiving our brother, ceasing to do evil, doing good and using the ordinances according to the power we have received.

Q. 4. What is faith ?

A. Faith in general is a divine supernatural *Elegchos* (*) of things not seen ; i. e. of past, future or spiritual things : it is a spiritual sight of God and the things of God.

First, a sinner is convinced by the Holy Ghost, 'Christ loved me, and gave himself for me.' This is that faith by which he is justified or pardoned the moment he receives it. Immediately the same spirit bears witness, "Thou art pardoned : thou hast redemption in his blood." And this is saving faith, whereby 'the love of God is shed abroad in his heart.'

Q. 5. Have all Christians this faith ? May not a man be justified, and not know it ?

A. That all true Christians have such a faith as implies an assurance of God's love, appears from Rom. viii. 15, 16 ; Eph. iv. 32 ; 2 Cor. xiii. 5 ; Heb. viii. 10—12 ; 1 John, iv. 13, and v. 19. And that no man can be justified and not know it, appears farther from the nature of the thing. For faith after repentance is ease after pain, rest after toil, light after darkness. It appears also from the immediate as well as distant fruits thereof.

Q. 6. But may not a man go to heaven without it ?

(*) Conviction or evidence.

A. It does not appear from holy writ, that a man who hears the gospel can, (Mark xvi, 16,) whatever a heathen may do. (Rom. ii, 14.)

Q. 7. What are the immediate fruits of justifying faith?

A. Peace, joy, love; power over all outward sin, and power to keep down inward sin.

Q. 8. Does any one believe who has not the witness in himself, or any longer than he sees, loves and obeys God?

A. We apprehend not; seeing God being the very essence of faith; love and obedience the inseparable properties of it.

Q. 9. What sins are consistent with justifying faith?

A. *No wilful sin.* If a believer wilfully sins, he casts away his faith. Neither is it possible he should have justifying faith again without previously repenting.

Q. 10. Must every believer come into a state of doubt, or fear, or darkness? Will he do so unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness? Does God otherwise withdraw himself?

A. It is certain a believer *need never* again come into condemnation. It seems he need not come into a state of doubt, or fear, or darkness: and that (ordinarily at least,) he *will not*, unless by ignorance or unfaithfulness. Yet it is true that the first joy does seldom last long; that it is commonly followed by doubts and fears; and that God frequently permits great heaviness before any large manifestation of himself.

Q. 11. Are *works* necessary to the continuance of *faith*?

A. Without doubt; for a man may forfeit the free gift of God either by sins of omission or commission.

Q. 12. Can faith be lost but for want of works?

A. It cannot but through disobedience.

Q. 13. How is faith *made perfect by works*?

A. The more we exert our faith the more it is increased. 'To him that hath shall be given.'

Q. 14. St. Paul says, 'Abraham was not justified by works.' Do they not contradict each other?

A. No: 1. Because they do not speak of the same justification. St. Paul speaks of that justification which was when Abraham was

seventy-five years old, about twenty years before Isaac was born. St. James of that justification which was when he offered up Isaac on the altar. 2, Because they do not speak of the same works: St. Paul speaking of works that precede faith: St. James, of works that spring from it.

Q. 15. In what sense is Adam's sin imputed to all mankind?

A. In Adam all die, i. e. 1. Our bodies then became mortal. 2. Our souls died. i. e. were disunited from God. And hence, 3. We are all born with a sinful, devilish nature: by reason whereof, 4. We are children of wrath, liable to death eternal. (Rom. v, 18; Eph. ii. 3.)

Q. 16. In what sense is the righteousness of Christ imputed to all mankind, or to believers?

A. We do not find it expressly affirmed in Scripture, that God imputes the righteousness of Christ to any: (*) although we do find that 'faith is imputed to us for righteousness.'

That next, 'As by one man's disobedience, all men were made sinners; so by the obedience of one, all men were made righteous,' we conceive means, by the merits of Christ all men are cleared from the guilt of Adam's *actual* sin.

We conceive further, that through the obedience and death of Christ, 1. The bodies of all men become immortal after the resurrection. 2. Their souls receive a capacity of spiritual life; and 3. An actual spark or seed thereof. 4. All believers become children of grace, reconciled to God; and 6. Are made partakers of the divine nature.

Q. 17. Have we not leaned toward *antinomianism*?

A. We are afraid we have.

Q. 18. What is *Antinomianism*?

A. The doctrine which makes void the law through faith.

Q. 19. What are the main pillars thereof?

A. 1. That Christ abolished the moral law. 2. That therefore Christians are not obliged to observe it. 3. That one branch of

(*) That is, his *personal* righteousness. This is the great Antinomian error. But the divine atonement, with its glorious concomitants, may be called his *righteousness*; and may be said to be imputed to believers, as it was wrought for guilty man, and by the merit of it only can he be justified.

Christian liberty is liberty from obeying the commandments of God. 4. That it is bondage to do a thing because it is commanded, or forbear it because it is forbidden. 5. That a believer is not obliged to use the ordinances of God, or to do good works. 6. That a preacher ought not to exhort to good works: not unbelievers, because it is hurtful; not believers, because it is needless.

CONVERSATION III.

Q. 1. Is a sense of God's pardoning love absolutely necessary to our being in his favor? Or may there be some exempt cases?

A. We dare not say there are not.

Q. 2. Is it necessary to inward and outward holiness?

A. We incline to think it is.

Q. 3. Does a man believe any longer than he sees a reconciled God?

A. We conceive not. But we allow there may be infinite degrees in seeing God: even as many as there are between him who sees the sun, when it shines on his eyelids closed, and him who stands with his eyes wide open in the full blaze of its beams.

Q. 4. Does a man believe any longer than he loves God?

A. In no wise. For 'neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth, without faith working by love.'

Q. 5. Have we duly considered the case of Cornelius? Was not he in the favor of God, 'when his prayers and alms came up for a memorial before God?' i. e. Before he believed in Christ?

A. It does seem that he was, in some degree. But we speak not of those who have not heard the gospel.

Q. Is a believer constrained to obey God?

A. At first he often is. 'The love of Christ constraineth him.' After this he may obey or he may not, no constraint being laid upon him.

Q. 7. Can faith be lost but through disobedience?

A. It cannot. A believer first inwardly disobeys, inclines to sin with his heart; then his intercourse with God is cut off, e. i. his faith is lost: and after this he may fall into outward sin, being now and like another man.

Q. How can such a one recover faith?

A. By repenting and doing the first works. (Rev. ii, 5.)

Q. 9. Do we ordinarily represent a justified state so great and happy as it is?

A. Perhaps not. A believer walking in the light, is inexpressibly great and happy.

Q. Should we not have a care of depreciating justification in order to exalt the state of full sanctification?

A. Undoubtedly we should beware of this; for one may insensibly slide into it.

Q. 11. How shall we effectually avoid it?

A. When we are going to speak of entire sanctification, let us first describe the blessings of a justified state as strongly as possible.

Q. 12. Does not the truth of the gospel lie very near both to *Calvinism and Antinomianism*?

A. Indeed it does; as it were, within a hair's breadth. (*) So that it is altogether foolish and sinful, because we do not quite agree either with one or the other, to run from them as far as ever we can.

Q. 13. Wherein may we come to the very edge of Calvinism?

A. 1. In ascribing all good to the free grace of God. 2. In denying all *natural* free-will, and all power antecedent to grace. And 3. In excluding all merit from man; even for what he has or does by the grace of God.

Q. 14. Wherein may we come to the edge of Antinomianism?

A. 1. In exalting the merits and love of Christ. 2. In rejoicing evermore.

Q. 15. Does faith supercede (set aside the necessity of) holiness or good works?

A. In no wise. So far from it that it implies both, as a cause does its effects."

The character of the Itinerant preachers, and the method of constituting them in the Wesleyan connection, are given in the following account.

It may be useful to add a few remarks on the method pursued in the choice of the itinerant preachers, as many have formed the most erro-

(*) So near does the road of truth lie to the ditch of error! But a believer who abides in the faith, sees and abhors it, 1 John. i, 5-7.

neous ideas on the subject, imagining they are employed with hardly any preparation ; while others have seemed to think they are a distinct race from those to whom they minister.—1. They are received, in common with all other persons, merely as private members on trial.—2. After a quarter of a year if they are found walking according to the gospel, they are admitted as proper members.—3. When the grace and abilities of any members are sufficiently manifest they are appointed leaders of classes.● 4. If they then appear to be called to more important services, they are employed to exhort occasionally in the smaller congregations.—5. If approved in this line of duty they are allowed to preach.—6. Out of these men, who are called *local preachers*, are selected the *itinerant preachers*, who are first proposed in the quarterly meetings of the circuits to which they belong, secondly, in the district meeting, and lastly, in the conference; and if accepted are appointed to circuits.—7. Their characters and conduct are examined annually in the district meetings and in the conference ; and if they continue faithful for four years of trial they are received into full connexion. At these conferences also strict inquiry is made into the conduct of every itinerant.—The preachers assembled are thus, from their identity of interest with the great body of the people, and their mutual sympathy with the whole, their natural and only entire representatives in all those affairs to which the conference directs its cares ; united with the whole connexion, as that in which they have resolved to live and die ; and yet, because of their itinerancy, never so connected with any individual society as to become the organs of those changes and innovations which in particular places might be often advocated.—Sufficiently dependent to be one with their people ; but sufficiently distinct, in order and office, to be the effectual guardians of that which is committed to their trust, as those who must give the *final* account of their stewardship not to man but to God. By them only can the discipline of the connexion in its wide extent be maintained ; and the Lord and his people require it at their hands.

Mr. C. Wesley being at Bristol when he first heard the news of the victory at Culloden over the rebel army, he observes, "We rejoiced unto the Lord with reverence, and thankfully observed the remarkable answer of that petition,

‘ All their strength o’erturn, o’erthrow;
 Snap their spears and break their swords,
 Let the daring rebels know,
 The battle is the Lord’s.’ (*)

August 1, 1745, the second conference was held in Bristol.

Mr. Wesley not only studied and laboured hard, at the same time enduring much unmerited reproach, but he passed through much fatigue and danger in his travels. In his Journal, he tells us, that in the latter end of February, he preached at Nottingham. The next day, a friend piloted him through the mire, and water, and snow, to Sykehouse.—Proceeding northward, he found much snow about Borough-Bridge, which made him travel so slowly, that night overtook him when he had six or seven miles to go to the place where he had intended to lodge. The next day the roads were abundantly worse. The snow was deeper, the causeways were impassable, and there was such a hard frost succeeding the thaw, that the ground was like glass. At that time, and for some years after, there were no turnpike-roads in those parts of England. He was often obliged to walk, it being impossible to ride. He passed over dreary moors, and appeared great pathless wastes, till at length, late in the evening, he reached Newcastle.—“Many a rough journey, (said he) have I had before; but one like this I never had.”

May 13, 1746, the third conference was held in the same city. It consisted of the Messrs. Wesleys, two other clergymen, and of five lay-preachers.

About this time Mr. Wesley received the following interesting letter from the candid and amiable Dr. Doddridge.

Northampton, July 29, 1746.

“Rev. and dear Sir,—I am truly glad that the long letter I last sent was agreeable to you. I bless God, that my prejudices against the writers of the Establishment were so early removed and conquered, I greatly rejoice when I see in those whom, upon other accounts, I most highly esteem as the excellent of the earth, that their prejudices against their brethren of any denomination, are likewise subdued, and

(*) The first stanza of his noble hymn written at that awful time.

that they are coming nearer to the harmony, for which I hope, when we shall be one in Christ Jesus.

"I have always esteemed it the truest act of friendship, to use our mutual endeavours to render the characters of each other as blameless and as valuable as possible. And I have never felt a more affectionate sense of my obligations, than when those worthy persons who have honoured me with their affection and correspondence, have freely told me what they thought amiss in my temper and conduct. This, therefore, dear sir, is an office which you might reasonably expect from me, if I had for sometime enjoyed an intimate knowledge of you. But it has always been a maxim with me, not to believe any flying story, to the prejudice of those whom I had apparent reason, from what I knew of them, to esteem. And consequently, as I should never make this a foundation, you must be contented to wait longer, before you will be likely to receive that office of fraternal love, which you ask from,

Rev. and dear Sir, your obliged

and affectionate Brother and Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE."

"P. S. Your caution has suggested a thought to me, whether it be modest to call ourselves humble? If the expression mean, a real readiness to serve in love in any thing low, as washing the feet of another, I hope I can say, *I am your humble servant*: but if it mean one who is in all respects as humble as he could wish, God forbid I should arrogate to myself so proud a title! In what can I say, *I have already attained*? Only I love my Divine Master, and I would not have a thought in my heart that he should disapprove. I feel a sweetness in being assuredly in his gracious hand, which all the world cannot possibly afford; and which I really think, would make me happier in a dark dungeon, than ten thousand worlds could make me without it.— And therefore, I love every creature on earth that bears his image. And I do not expose those, who, through ignorance, rashness, or prejudice, have greatly injured me."

June 16, 1747, the fourth conference was held in London. It consisted of four clergymen and two lay-preachers. In this year Methodism began in Ireland, in the city of Dublin.

June 22, 1748, the fifth conference was held in Bristol. It cannot

be gathered with certainty, either from Mr. Wesley's Journals, or any other source of information, that there was a conference every year from this time till 1763, and yet it appears that in some of those years there were two conferences. This year Kingswood school was opened, for the education of preacher's children and others, though now it is wholly confined to the former.

June 15, 1746, he visited Staffordshire and preached at Tippen Green. After preaching, a friend invited him to sleep at his house, at no great distance from the place. Soon after they were sit down, the mob beset the house, and beating at the door, demanded entrance. Mr. Wesley ordered the door to be set open, and the house was immediately filled. "I sat still," says he, "in the midst of them for half an hour. I was a little concerned for Mr. Perronet, lest such rough treatment at his first setting out should daunt him. But he abounded in valour, and was for reasoning with the wild beasts, before they had spent any of their violence. He got a deal of abuse thereby, and not a little dirt, both of which he took very patiently. I had no design to preach, but being called upon by so unexpected a congregation, I rose up at last, and read, '*When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him, then shall he set on the throne of his glory.*' While I reasoned with them of judgment to come. they grew calmer by little and little, and then I spoke to them one by one, till the Lord had disarmed them all. One, who stood out the longest, I held by the hand, and urged the love of Christ crucified, till in spite of both his natural and diabolical courage, he trembled like a leaf. I was constrained to go to prayer for him. Our leopards were all become lambs, and very kind we all were at parting. Near midnight the house was clear and quiet. We gave thanks to God for our salvation, and slept in peace." Such were the conflicts, and such the victories frequently obtained in that day.

Mr. C. Wesley returned to London, which he left on the 23, and on the 24, he reached the Devezes in his way to Bristol, in company with Mr. Minton. They soon perceived that the enemies of religion had taken the alarm, and were mustering their forces for the battle.— They began by ringing the bells backward, and running to and fro in the streets, as lions roaring for their prey. The curate's mob went in

quest of Mr. C Wesley to several places, particularly to Mr. Philip's, where it was expected he would preach. They broke open and ransacked the house, but not finding him there, they marched off to a Mr. Rogers's, where he and several others being met together, were praying and exhorting one another to continue steadfast in the faith, and thro' much tribulation to enter the kingdom of heaven. The zealous curate Mr. Innys, stood with the mob in the street dancing for joy. "This," says Mr. C. Wesley, "is he who declared in the pulpit as well as from house to house, 'That he himself heard me preach blasphemy before the University, and tell my hearers, if you do not receive the Holy Ghost while I breathe upon you, ye are all damned.'" He had been about the town several days stirring up the people, and canvassing the gentry for their vote and interest, but could not raise a mob. While my brother was here the hour of darkness was not yet fully come. Mr. Innys, however, by assiduity and falsehood boldly asserted as truth, now engaged some of the gentry of the town in his party, and prevailed with them to encourage the mob. While they beset the house where Mr. C. Wesley and the company with him were assembled, he often heard his own name mentioned, with 'Bring him out! bring him out!' He observes, "The little flock, was less afraid than I expected, only one of our sisters fainted away." It being now dark, the besiegers blocked up the door with a wagon, and set up lights lest Mr. Wesley should escape. One of the company however, got out unobserved, and with much entreaty prevailed on the mayor to come down. He came with two constables and threatened the rioters, but so gently that none regarded him. Having torn down the shutters of the shop, and broken the windows, it was wonderful they did not enter the house: but a secret hand seemed to restrain them. After a while, they hurried away to the inn where the horses were put up, broke open the stable door and turned out the beasts. "In the mean time," says Mr. Wesley, "we were at a loss what to do; when God put it into the heart of our next neighbor, a Baptist, to take us through a passage into his own house, offer us a bed, and engaged for our security; we accepted his kindness and slept in peace.

"February 25.—A day never to be forgotten! At seven o'clock, I walked quietly to Mrs. Philips' and began preaching a little before

the time appointed. For three quarters of an hour, I invited a few listening sinners to Christ. Soon after, Satan's whole army assailed the house. We sat in a little ground room, and ordered all the doors to be thrown open. They brought a hand-engine, and began to play into the house. We kept our seats, and they rushed into the passage; just then Mr. Borough, the constable, came, and seizing the spout of the engine, carried it off. They swore if he did not deliver it they would pull down the house. At that time they might have taken us prisoners; we were close to them, and none to interpose; but they hurried out to fetch the larger engine. In the mean time, we were advised to send for the mayor; but Mr. Mayor was gone out of town, in the sight of the people, which gave great encouragement to those who were already wrought up to a proper pitch, by the curate and the gentlemen of the town; particularly Mr. Sutton and Mr. Willy, Dissenters, the two leading men. Mr. Sutton frequently came out to the mob to keep up their spirits. He sent word to Mrs. Philips, that if she did not turn that fellow out to the mob, he would send to drag him out. Mr. Willy passed by again and again, assuring the rioters he would stand by them, and secure them against the law, do what they would."

"The rioters now therefore began playing the larger engine; which broke the windows, flooded the rooms, and spoiled the goods. We were withdrawn to a small upper room, in the back part of the house; seeing no way to escape their violence, as they seemed under the full power of the old murderer. They first laid hold on the man who kept the society-house, dragged him away, and threw him into the horse-pond.—We gave ourselves unto prayer, believing the Lord would deliver us; how, or when, we saw not; nor any possible way of escaping: we therefore stood still to see the salvation of God. Every now and then, some or other of our friends would venture to us; but they rather weakened our hands, so that we were forced to stop our ears, and look up. Among the rest, the mayor's maid came, and told us her mistress was in tears about me; and begged me to disguise myself in woman's clothes, and try to make my escape. Her heart had been turned toward us by the conversion of her son, just on the brink of ruin. God laid his hand on the poor prodigal, and

instead of running to sea, he entered the society.—The rioters without, continued playing their engine, which diverted them for some time; but their number and fierceness still increased, and the gentlemen supplied them with pitchers of ale, as much as they would drink. They were now on the point of breaking in, when Mr. Borough thought of reading the Proclamation: he did so, at the hazard of his life. In less than an hour, of above a thousand wild beasts, none were left but the guard, and our constable, who had applied to Mr. Street, the only justice in the town; but he would not act. We found there was no help in man, which drove us closer to the Lord; and we prayed, with little intermission, the whole day.”

The mob however, rallied again, and Mr. C. Wesley observes, “Our enemies at their return made their main assault at the back door, swearing horribly they would have me if it cost them their lives. Many seeming accidents occurred to prevent their breaking in. The man of the house came home, and instead of turning me out, as they expected, took part with us, and stemmed the tide for some time. They now got a notion that I had made my escape; and ran down to the inn, and played the engine there. They forced the innkeeper to turn out our horses, which he immediately sent to Mr. Clark’s; which drew the rabble and their engine thither. But the resolute old man charged and presented his gun, till they retreated. Upon their revisiting us, we stood in jeopardy every moment. Such threatenings, curses, and blasphemies, I have never heard. They seemed kept out by a continued miracle. I remember the Roman senators sitting in the Forum, when the Gauls broke in among them but thought there was a fitter posture for Christians, and told my companion they should take us off our knees. We were kept from all hurry and discomposure of spirit, by a divine power resting upon us. We prayed and conversed as freely as if we had been in the midst of our brethren; and had great confidence that the Lord would either deliver us *from* the danger, or *in* it. In the height of the storm, just when we were falling into the hands of the drunken enraged multitude, Mr. Minton was so little disturbed that he fell fast asleep.

“They were now close to us on every side, and over our heads untiling the roof. A ruffian cried out, ‘here they are behind the curtain.’

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At this time we fully expected their appearance, and retired to the furthest corner of the room ; and I said, '*This is the crisis!*' In that moment 'Jesus rebuked the winds and the sea, and there was a great calm.' We heard not a breath without, and wondered what was become of them. The silence lasted for three quarters of an hour, before any one came near us ; and we continued in mutual exhortation and prayer, looking for deliverance. I often told my companions, 'Now God is at work for us : he is contriving our escape : he can turn these leopards into lambs ; can command the heathen to bring his children on their shoulders, and make our fiercest enemies the instruments of our deliverance.' About three o'clock, Mr. Clark knocked at the door, and brought with him the persecuting constable. He said, 'Sir, if you will promise never to preach here again, the gentlemen and I will engage to bring you safe out of town.'—My answer was, 'I shall promise no such thing. Setting aside my office, I will not give up my birthright as an Englishman, of visiting what place I please of his majesty's dominions.'—'Sir,' said the constable, 'we expect no such promise, that you will never come here again : only tell me, that it is not your *present* intention, that I may tell the gentlemen, who will then secure your quiet departure.'—I answered, 'I cannot come again immediately, because I must return to London a week hence. But, *observe*, I make no promise of not preaching here ; and do not you say that I do.'

"He went away with this answer, and we betook ourselves to prayer and thanksgiving. We perceived 'it was the Lord's doing, and it was marvellous in our eyes.' The hearts of our adversaries were turned. Whether pity for us, or fear for themselves, wrought strongest, God knoweth ; probably the latter ; for the mob were wrought up to such a pitch of fury, that their masters dreaded the consequence, and therefore went about appeasing the multitude, and charging them not to touch us in our departure.

"While the constable was gathering his *posse*, we got our things from Mr. Clark's and prepared to go forth. The whole multitude were without, expecting us, and saluted us with a general shout. Mr. Minton and I took horse in the face of our enemies, who began clamoring against us ; the gentlemen were dispersed among the mob, to bridle them. We rode a slow pace up the street, the whole multitude pouring

along on both sides, and attending us with loud acclamations: such fierceness and diabolical madness I have not before seen in human faces. They ran up to our horses as if they would swallow us, but did not know which was Wesley. We felt great peace and acquiescence in the honor done us, while the whole town were spectators of our march. When out of sight we mended our pace, and about seven o'clock came to Wrexall. The news of our danger was got thither before us; but we brought the welcome tidings of our deliverance. We joined in hearty prayer to our deliverer, singing the hymn beginning with

‘Worship, and thanks, and blessing,
And strength, ascribe to Jesus,’ &c.

He was now in honor and dishonor; but he passed through it also, and was soon called to encounter the storms of dishonor and danger in Ireland.

Mr. J. Wesley knowing that much of the opposition and brutal treatment was owing to the ignorance of the clergy, and wishing to remove every ground of offence, he wrote a statement of the case to a friend, which he afterwards published.

The following expostulations of Mr. Wesley with the clergy, will show the manifest sincerity, frankness, and true christian principle by which he acted, while raising up his societies under such trying circumstances.

“About seven years since,” says he, “we began preaching inward present salvation, as attainable by faith alone. For preaching this doctrine we are forbidden to preach in most churches. We then preached in private houses, and when the houses could not contain the people, in the open air. For this, many of the clergy preached and printed against us, as both heretics and schismatics. Persons who were convinced of sin, begged us to advise them more particularly how to flee from the wrath to come. We desired them, being many, to come at one time, and we would endeavour it. From this, we were represented both from the pulpit and press, as introducing Popery and raising sedition; yea all manner of evil was said both of us, and those who used to assemble with us. Finding that some of these *did* walk disorderly, we desired them not to come to us any more. And some of the others we desired to overlook the rest, that we might know whether they walked

worthy of the gospel. Several of the clergy now stirred up the people to treat us as outlaws or mad dogs. The people did so both in Staffordshire, Cornwall, and many other places; and they do so still, wherever they are not restrained by the fear of the magistrates. Now what can *we* do, or what can *you* or our brethren do, towards healing this breach. Desire of *us* any thing which we can do with safe conscience, and *we* will do it immediately. Will you meet us here? Will you do what *we* desire of *you*, so far as you can with a safe conscience?

1. Do you desire us to preach another, or desist from preaching this doctrine? We cannot do this with a safe conscience.

2. Do you desire us to desist from preaching in *private houses*, or in *the open air*? As things are now circumstanced, this would be the same as desiring us not to preach at all.

3. Do you desire us not to advise those who meet together for that purpose? To dissolve our societies? We cannot do this with a safe conscience, for we apprehend many souls would be lost thereby.

4. Do you desire us to advise them one by one? This is impossible because of their number.

5. Do you desire us to suffer those who walk disorderly, still to mix with the rest? Neither can we do this with a safe conscience, for evil communications corrupt good manners.

6. Do you desire us to discharge those *leaders* as we term them who overlook the rest? This is in effect, to suffer the disorderly walkers still to remain with the rest.

7. Do you desire *us lastly* to behave with tenderness, both towards the characters and persons of our brethren the clergy? By the grace of God we can, and will do this, as indeed we have done to this day.

If you ask what we desire of you to do, we answer.

1. We do not desire any of you to let us preach in your church, either if you believe us to preach false doctrine, or if you have the least scruple. But we desire any who believe us to preach true doctrine, and have no scruple in the matter, not to be either publicly or privately discouraged, from inviting us to preach in his church.

2. We do not desire that any who thinks it his duty to preach or print against us, should refrain therefrom. But, we desire that none will do this till he has calmly considered both sides of the question, and

that he would not condemn us unheard, but first read what we say in our own defence.

3. We do not desire any favour, if either Popery, sedition or immorality, be proved against us. But we desire you would not credit, without proof, any of those senseless tales that pass current with the vulgar; that if you do not credit them yourselves, you will not relate them to others, yea that you will discountenance them who still retail them abroad.

4. We do not desire any preferment, favour or recommendation from those that are in power, either in church or state. But we desire,,
1. That if any thing material be laid to our charge, we may be permitted to answer for ourselves. 2. That you would hinder your dependants from stirring up the rabble against us, who are certainly not the proper judges in these matters; and 3. That you would effectually suppress, and discountenance all riots and popular insurrections, which evidently strike at the root of all government, either church or state. Now these things you certainly can do, and that with a safe conscience. Therefore till these things be done, the continuance of the breach, if there be any, is chargeable on you and you only."

Mr. Wesley continued his frequent visits to the most distant parts of the kingdom. No season of the year, no change of weather, could either prevent or retard his journey. He generally preached two or three times every day, and regulated the societies wherever he came. His whole heart was in the work, and his fixed resolution surmounted every difficulty.

In February, 1747, being in Yorkshire, he met with a clergyman, who told him some of the preachers had frequently preached in his parish; and his judgment was, 1. That their preaching had done some good, but more harm. Because, 2. Those who have attended it had only turned from one wickedness to another; they had only changed Sabbath-breaking, swearing, or drunkenness, for slandering, backbiting and evil speaking; and 3. Those who did not attend were provoked, hereby to return evil for evil. So that the former were, in effect, no better; the latter worse, than before.

"The same objection, in substance," says Mr. Wesley, "has been made in most other parts of England. It therefore deserves a serious

answer, which will equally hold in all places. It is allowed, 1. That our preaching has done some good; common swearers, Sabbath-breakers, drunkards, thieves, fornicators, having been reclaimed from those outward sins. But it is affirmed, 2. That it has done more harm; the persons so reclaimed only changing one wickedness for another; and their neighbors being so provoked thereby as to become worse than they were before.

"Those who have left their outward sins," you affirm, 'have only changed drunkenness or Sabbath-breaking, for backbiting or evil speaking.' I answer, if you affirm this of them all, it is notoriously false; many we can name, who left cursing, swearing, backbiting, drunkenness, and evil speaking together, and who are, to this day, just as fearful of slandering as they are of cursing or swearing. And if some are not yet enough aware of this snare of the devil, we may hope they will be ere long. Meantime bless God for what he has done, and pray that he would deliver them from this death also.

"You affirm farther, 'That their neighbors are provoked hereby to return evil for evil; and so while the former are no better, the latter are worse than they were before.'

"I answer, 1. 'These are worse than they were before.' But why? Because they do fresh 'despite to the spirit of grace;' because they 'despise that longsuffering' love of God which would lead them, as it does their neighbors, to repentance. (*) And in laying the blame of this on those who will 'no longer run with them to the same excess of riot,' they only fulfil the Scriptures, and fill up the measure of their own iniquity.

"I answer, 2. There is still no proportion at all between the good on the one hand, and the harm on the other; for they who reject the goodness of God were servants of the devil before; and they are but servants of the devil still. But they who accept it are brought from the power of Satan to serve the living and true God."

In April, Mr. Wesley, on his return from the north, spent an hour with the same clergyman, and pressed him to make good his assertion, that the preaching of the methodists had done more harm than good.—

(*) 'The publicans and harlots,' says our Lord, 'repented at the preaching of John, and ye, when ye saw it, repented not afterwards that ye might believe.'

This he did not choose to pursue ; but enlarged on the harm it might occasion in succeeding generations. Mr. Wesley adds, ' I cannot see the force of this argument. I dare not neglect the doing certain present good for fear of some probable ill consequences in the succeeding century.'—Thanks be to God, these ill consequences have not yet appeared after more than seventy years' trial. The Lord still owns it to be his work.

On the 31 of June, 1748, Mr. Wesley opened his large school at Kingswood. He had long before built a small one for the children of the colliers which still exists. The last was intended for the children of our principal friends, that they might receive a complete education in the languages and sciences, without endangering their morals in the great schools, where vice is so prevalent. In time, many of the preachers married and had families. Their little pittance was not sufficient to enable them to support their children at school. The interrupted duties of the itinerant life would not permit the father to give his son the necessary education he required : and it is well known how impossible it is, in general, for a mother to instruct, or even to govern a son after a given age, especially during the absence of the father.—On these considerations, after a few years, the school was appropriated to the education of a considerable number of the preacher's sons, as well as of the children of private independent members. These were instructed, boarded and clothed ; and the charity is supported by an annual collection made in all the chapels belonging to the societies in these kingdoms. The collection is now so increased, that small sums are allowed out of it toward the education of preachers' daughters.—Mr. Wesley drew up a set of rules for this school, which have been highly admired by most that have seen them.

But this pious design, like all human institutions, often fell below the expectations of the benevolent founder. Yet, notwithstanding this, it has been productive of much good. Many useful preachers have been thereby preserved for the general work, and have been enabled to devote their whole life to the immediate service of God, who must otherwise have sunk under the weight of their families, and settled in some trade for their support. The school is now wholly appropriated to the sons of the itinerant preachers. The great increase of the work

rendered this absolutely necessary. Another school has been opened in Yorkshire on the same plan, since the death of Mr. Wesley. The Lord has greatly blessed and prospered both these institutions.

A circumstance respecting the erection of this edifice deserves to be remembered. Mr. Wesley was mentioning to a lady, with whom he was in company in the neighborhood of Bristol, his desire and design of erecting a Christian school, such as would not disgrace the apostolic age. The lady was so pleased with his views, that she immediately went to her scrutoire, and brought him five hundred pounds in bank notes, desiring him to accept of them, and to enter upon his plan immediately. He did so. Afterwards being in company with the same lady, she inquired how the building went on; and whether he stood in need of farther assistance. He informed her that he had laid out all the money he had received, and that he was three hundred pounds in debt; at the same time apologizing, and entreating her not to consider it as a concern of hers. But she immediately retired and brought him the sum he wanted.

June 22, 1748, the fifth conference was held in Bristol. It cannot be gathered with certainty, either from Mr. Wesley's Journals, or any other source of information, that there was a conference every year from this time till 1763, and yet it appears that in some of those years there were two conferences.

The first effectual check that was given to the practice of mobbing, was in London. Sir John Ganson, chairman of the Middlesex justices, waited on Mr. Wesley, in the name of his brethren, to say, that the justices had orders from the government to do him and his friends justice whenever they should apply; his Majesty being determined that no man in his dominions should be persecuted for conscience sake. This reflects great honor upon the sovereign. But it was become absolutely necessary that something should be done to quell the increasing tumults. Of this necessity even the enemies of the Methodists were made sensible. In Staffordshire, the mob turned upon their employers, and threatened, unless they gave them money, to serve them as they had done the Methodists. And if they saw a stranger who had the appearance of a Methodist, they immediately attacked him.

A Quaker happened to ride through Wednesbury: they swore he

was a preacher, pulled him off his horse, dragged him to a coal-pit, and were with difficulty prevented from throwing him in. But he prosecuted them at the assizes, and from that time the tumults in Staffordshire subsided.

After some years of persecution and oppression, having gained a few trials, they began to be more peremptory in demanding justice.— But at the quarter sessions they were frequently disappointed. However, they traversed and appealed to the higher courts. They often succeeded at the assizes, and almost always at the king's-bench. By degrees it became understood that the Methodists had a right to liberty and protection, as well as their fellow-subjects, and that they were determined to claim these privileges. However, a little while before the death of Mr. Wesley, attempts were made in some parts of the kingdom to prosecute them under the conventicle act. But this was a measure so shocking to the candid and liberal part of the public, that it was soon abandoned, even by those whose spirits and principles were the most intolerant.

Mr. Wesley evidently seems to have had but one design from the commencement of his ministry, and which he invariably pursued till his spirit returned to God, viz., to be as useful as possible to his fellow creatures, especially with regard to the salvation of their souls. He therefore never said, upon any success which he met with, "It is enough." In this respect also he 'forgot the things behind and reached forth to those before.' The same he continually inculcated upon those who labored with him.

Agreeably to this they have from the beginning gone from place to place; and having formed societies of 'those who turned to God,' (for they take charge of none else) they immediately visited new places, beginning to preach generally in the open air, on a horseblock, or on whatever offered. At length one of the preachers, a Mr. Williams, then zealous for God, crossed the channel and began to preach in Dublin. Multitudes flocked to hear; and for some time there was much disturbance, chiefly, though not wholly from the lower class, who are Romanists. He soon formed a small society, several of whom were happy witnesses of the truth which they heard, viz., That God does now also 'give the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins,' to those who repent and believe the gospel.

Mr. Williams wrote an account of his success to Mr. Wesley, who determined to visit Ireland immediately. Accordingly on Tuesday, August 4, 1747, he set out from Bristol, and passing through Wales, arrived in Dublin on Sunday 9, about ten o'clock in the forenoon. A circumstance almost instantly occurred which he considered as 'a token for good.' I shall relate it in his own words:

"Soon after we landed, hearing the bells ringing for church, I went thither directly. Mr. Lunell, the chief member of the society, came to the quay just after I was gone, and left word at the house where our things were, 'He would call again at one.' He did so, and took us to his house. About three I wrote a line to the curate of St. Mary's, who sent me word, 'He should be glad of my assistance.' So I preached there (another gentleman reading prayers) to as gay and senseless a congregation as I ever saw. After sermon Mr. R. thanked me very affectionately, and desired I would favor him with my company in the morning.

"Monday, the 10, I met the society at five, and at six preached on, 'Repent ye, and believe the gospel.' The room, large as it was, would not contain the people, who all seemed to taste the good word.

"Between eight and nine I went to Mr. R. the curate of St. Mary's. He professed abundance of good will, commended my sermon in strong terms, and begged he might see me again the next morning. But at the same time he professed the most rooted prejudice against lay-preachers, or preaching out of a church; and said the archbishop of Dublin was resolved to suffer no such irregularities in his diocess.

"I went to our brethern that we might pour out our souls before God. I then went straight to wait upon the archbishop myself, but he was gone out of Town.

"In the afternoon a gentleman desired to speak with me. He was troubled that it was not with him as in times past. At the age of fourteen the power of God came mightily upon him, constraining him to rise out of bed to pour out his prayers and tears, from a heart overflowed with love and joy in the Holy Ghost. For some months he scarce knew whether he was in the body, continually walking and talking with God. He has now an abiding peace; but cannot rest till the love of God again fills his heart."

The house then used for preaching was situate in Marlborough-street, and was originally designed for a Lutheran church. It contained about four hundred people; but four or five times the number might stand in the yard, which was very spacious. An immense multitude assembled to hear him on Monday evening; among whom were many of the rich, and ministers of all denominations. He spoke strongly and closely on, 'The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe;' and observes, that no person seemed offended. All, for the present at least, seemed convinced that he 'spoke as the oracles of God.'

The next day he waited on the archbishop. They conversed for two or three hours, in which time he answered an abundance of objections. He continued to preach morning and evening to large congregations, and had more and more reason to hope they would not all be unfruitful hearers.

Having examined the society, which then consisted of about two hundred and eighty members, and explained at large the rules, (already mentioned,) he sailed for England, leaving Mr. Williams and Mr. Trembath to take care of his little flock. Many of these, he observes, were strong in faith, and of an exceeding teachable spirit; and therefore, on this account, should be watched over with the more care, as being almost equally susceptible of good or ill impressions.—Soon after this he published an address to the Roman Catholics: a very small tract, but clearly stating the points wherein we agree, and wherein we differ; and equally conspicuous for argument and temper.

The society in Dublin enjoyed their sunshine but for a little time. A persecution commenced, in which Mr. Trembath, in a letter to Mr. Wesley, makes the following observations: "I believe this persecution was permitted for good, that we might not trust in an arm of flesh. We thought that the magistrates would do us justice; but in this we were disappointed. It likewise drives us all to prayer and watchfulness, and also causes us to love each other better than ever; so that we are like sheep driven by the wolf into the fold. When we went out we carried our lives in our hands; but all this did not hinder us once from meeting together at the usual hours. The society still

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increased, and those who had the root in themselves stood like marble pillars; and, by the grace of God, were resolved rather to die with Christ, than to deny him. All the city is in an uproar: some said, 'It is a shame; the men do no harm:' others said, 'The dogs deserve all to be hanged.' Blessed be God, we walk unhurt in fire! Now we can literally say, we live by faith: and the less we have of human help, the more we shall have of divine."

Dublin had long been remarkable for a bad police. Frequent robberies, and sometimes murder, were committed in the streets at an early hour in the evening, with impunity. The Ormond and Liberty mob, (that is, the butchers of Ormond market, and the weavers of the Liberty, a part of Dublin so called,) would sometimes meet, and fight till one or more persons were killed. On one occasion the mob had beat a constable to death in the street, and hung the body up in triumph! There was no vigor in the magistrates, and their power was despised. It is no wonder that the Methodists, at their first coming, were roughly handled in such a place as this; but it is wonderful that they so soon got a firm footing, and passed through their sufferings with so little injury. On Mr. C. Wesley's arrival here, he observes, "The first news we heard was, that the little flock stands fast in the storm of persecution, which arose as soon as my brother left them. The Popish mob broke open the room and destroyed all before them. Some of them are sent to Newgate; others bailed. What will be the event we know not, till we see whether the grand jury will find the bill." He afterward informs us that the grand jury threw out the bill, and thus gave up the Methodists to the fury of a licentious Popish mob. He says, "God has called me to suffer affliction with his people. I began my ministry with, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, &c.'—September 10, I met the society, and the Lord knit our hearts together in love stronger than death. We both wept and rejoiced for the consolation. God hath sent me, I trust, to confirm these souls, and to keep them together in the present distress."

Mr. C. Wesley continued his labors in Dublin till February 9, 1748, when he took an excursion into the country. The few preachers who were in Ireland, had already introduced the gospel into several country towns. Mr. C. Wesley came to Tyrrel's Pass, where he met a

large and well disposed congregation. "Few such feasts," says he, "have I had since I left England: it refreshed my body more than meat or drink. God has begun a great work here. The people of Tyrel's Pass were wicked to a proverb; swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, thieves, &c. from time immemorial. But now the scene is changed; not an oath is heard, nor a drunkard seen among them; *aperto vivitur horto*. (*) They are turned from darkness to light, and near one hundred are joined in society."

Mr. J. Wesley, accompanied by Messrs. Meriton and Swindells, arrived in Dublin in the spring of the year 1748, before his brother Charles sailed for England. (†) He no longer confined himself to the house, but preached on Oxmantown-Green, adjoining the barrack. He preached also at Newgate; and after a few days spent in Dublin, he visited many parts of the country. In several places he was constrained to preach in the open air, by reason of the multitude that attended. Many of the soldiers also, in every place, gladly heard the word, and forty troopers were at this time members of the society at Philipstown. In many of the towns in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and in some of Connaught, societies were formed, which have increased continually since that time, and the members of which have adorned the doctrine of God their Savior.

On his return to Dublin, he spent some days there previous to his departure for England. On one of these days, while he was preaching on the Green near the barrack, a man cried out, "Aye, he is a Jesuit, that's plain." To which a Popish priest, who happened to be near, replied, "No, he is not. I would to God he was."

Soon after he sailed, the zealous mob, who for some time had greatly incommoded those who attended at the preaching-house in Marlborough-street, made an attack in form. They abused the preacher

(*) They live in the open garden.

"Christ removes the flaming sword,
Calls us back, from Eden driven!"

(†) Nearly forty years ago that excellent man, Mr. Edwards of Bedfordbury, (Mr. Fletcher's leader,) told me, that he and the other leaders in London lamented that Mr. Wesley and his brother should spend so much time in Ireland, and send so many preachers thither. Mr. Wesley replied, "Have patience, and Ireland will repay you"—"We could hardly think it," said the good man. "but when Mr. Walsh came, we saw that Mr. Wesley's faith was better than ours."

and the congregation in a very gross manner. They then pulled down the pulpit, and carrying it with the benches into the street made a large fire of them, round which they shouted for several hours.

Those preachers who remained in the kingdom continued their labor with much success. Mr. Swindells visited Limerick, one of the most considerable cities in the province of Munster. The Lord much blessed his labors there, so that a society was soon formed; and the religious impression was so great on the inhabitants in general, that Mr. Wesley observes, on his visit to this city the following year, that he found no opposition; but every one seemed to say, 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!'

But in Cork the scene was very different. For more than three months a riotous mob, headed by a ballad-singer whose name was Butler, had declared open war against these new reformers, and all who attended their preaching. To give a detail of their violence would be almost too shocking to human nature. They fell upon men and women, old and young, with clubs and swords, and beat and wounded them in a dreadful manner. But they were not content with thus abusing the people when attending the preaching. They surrounded their houses, wounded their customers, broke their windows and threatened to pull their houses down, unless they would engage to leave this way! The common epithets used on those occasions by Butler and his party, were *heretic dogs* and *heretic b-tch-s*: and several even of the magistrates rather encouraged than strove to prevent these disorders.

In the midst of this brutality and injustice religion shed her cheering light, and diffused happiness almost at the gates of the city.

It was now generally believed there would be no more riots in Cork. But the flame of persecution was not yet extinct. Mr. Wesley arrived in Ireland in the month of April, 1750; and having preached in Dublin and the intermediate places, he proceeded to Cork; and at the repeated invitation of Mr. Alderman Pembroke, came to his house. On the morrow, being the Lord's day, he went about eight o'clock to Hammond's Marsh, being informed that the usual place of preaching would by no means contain those who desired to hear. The congregation was large and attentive. A few of

Bedfordbury,
in London la-
ne in Ireland,
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the rabble gathered at a distance; but by little and little they drew near, and mixed with the congregation: and he preached to as quiet and orderly an assembly as he could have met with in any church in England or Ireland.

In the afternoon, a report being spread abroad that the mayor designed to hinder his preaching on the Marsh in the evening, he desired Mr. Skelton and Mr. Jones to wait upon him and inquire concerning it. Mr. Skelton asked if Mr. Wesley's preaching there would be disagreeable to him? Adding, "Sir, if it is, Mr. Wesley will not do it."—He replied warmly, "Sir, I'll have no mobbing."—Mr. Skelton said, "Sir, there was none this morning."—He answered, "There was. Are there not churches and meeting-houses enough? I will have no more mobs and riots."—Mr. Skelton replied, "Sir, neither Mr. Wesley, nor they that heard him, made either mobs or riots."—He then answered plainly, "I will have no more preaching; and if Mr. Wesley attempts to preach, I am prepared for him."

He, however, began preaching in the house soon after five. Mr. Mayor in the mean time was walking in the exchange, and giving orders to the town drummers and to his serjeants—doubtless to go down and keep the peace! They accordingly came down to the house, with an innumerable mob attending them. They continued drumming, and Mr. Wesley continued preaching, till he had finished his discourse. When he came out the mob immediately closed him in. Observing one of the serjeants standing by, he desired him to keep the king's peace: but he replied, "Sir, I have no orders to do that." As soon as he came into the street, the rabble threw whatever came to hand. But all went by him, or flew over his head; nor did one thing touch him. He walked on straight through the midst of the rabble, looking every man before him to the face; and they opened on the right and left till he came to Dant's Bridge. A large party had taken possession of this, one of whom was bawling out, "Now, hey, for the Romans!" When he came up they likewise shrunk back, and he walked through them to Mr. Jenkin's house. But a Romanist stood just within the door and endeavored to hinder him from going in; till one of the mob, aiming at him, but missing, knocked down the Romanist. He then went in, and God restrained the wild beasts so that not one attempted to follow him.

Monday 21.—He rode on to Bandon. From three in the afternoon till past seven the mob of Cork marched in grand procession, and then burnt him in effigy near Dant's Bridge.

Friday, 25.—One Roger O'Farrel fixed up an advertisement at the public exchange, that he was ready to head any mob, in order to pull down any house that should dare to harbour a Swadler. (*) In the midst of the above riots he wrote the following hymn, which is so excellent, and so suitable to the time. It begins thus :

" Ye simple souls that stray,
Far from the path of peace." &c.

It stands the 278 hymn in the present edition of our hymn book.

Shortly after these riots in Cork, Butler went to Waterford, and raised disturbances in that city. But happening to quarrel with some who were as ready to shed blood as himself, he lost his right arm in the fray. Being thus disabled, the wretch dragged on the remainder of his life in unpitied misery. His fellow rioters at Cork were intimidated by the soldiers in garrison, many of whom began now to attend the preaching. At length peace was restored ; and the next time Mr. Wesley visited that city he preached without disturbance. A large preaching house was soon after built, in which the people quietly assembled.

There are few places where religion has prospered more than in Cork. ' Being reviled for the name of Christ, the Spirit of Glory and of God has rested upon them ;' and many have been the living and dying witnesses of the power of true religion. The principal inhabitants have been long convinced of the folly and wickedness of the authors and encouragers of those persecutions : and, on a late visit, the mayor invited Mr. Wesley to the mansion house, and seemed to consider his company as an honor.

Mr. Wesley continued his labors without intermission. He generally preached three or four, and sometimes five times in the day ; and often rode thirty or forty, sometimes fifty miles. Thus did he labor while he could ride on horseback ; nor do we believe there could be an

(*) A name given to the Methodist preachers from the circumstance of one's preaching in that place from Luke 2. 12 " And this *shall* be a sign unto you, ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes." &c.

instance found, during the space of forty years, wherein the severest weather hindered him for one day!

Many were the "hair-breadth escapes" which he experienced during that time, and which he has noted in his journals with lively gratitude to Him who numbers the hairs of our head. In this year, (1750) he records a remarkable one.

"I took horse," says he, "in Bristol for Wick, where I had appointed to preach at three in the afternoon. I was riding by the wall through St. Nicholas' gate, (my horse having been brought to the house where I dined,) just as a cart turned short from St. Nicholas-street, and came swiftly down the hill. There was just room to pass between the wheel of it and the wall; but that space was taken up by the cartman. I called to him to go back, or I must ride over him. But the man, as if deaf, walked straight forward. This obliged me to hold back my horse. In the mean time, the shaft of the cart came full against his shoulder, with such a shock as beat him to the ground. He shot me forward over his head, as an arrow out of a bow, where I lay with my arms and legs, I know not how, stretched out in a line close to the wall. The wheel ran by close to my side, but only dirtied my clothes. I found no flutter of spirit, but the same composure as if I had been sitting in my study. When the cart was gone I rose. Abundance of people gathered round, till a gentleman desired me to step into his shop. After cleaning myself a little, I took horse again, and was at Wick by the time appointed. I returned to Bristol, (where the report of my being killed had spread far and wide,) time enough to praise God in the great congregation, and to preach on 'Thou, Lord, shalt save both man and beast.' "

He now visited, with those that labored with him, many parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Cheshire, where he had never been before. He also visited Plymouth, and many other places in the west; and in every place, *the work of God prospered*. Mr. Wesley observes, "This is no cant word: it means 'the conversion of sinners from sin to holiness.' " But still they were obliged in many parts to carry their lives in their hands. Some instances of this have been related already. I shall mention one more in his own words.

"After preaching at Oakhill, a village in Somersetshire, I rode on

to Shepton Mallet, but found the people all under a strange consternation. A mob they said was hired, and made sufficiently drunk to do all manner of mischief. I began preaching between four and five, and none hindered or interrupted at all. We had a blessed opportunity, and the hearts of many were exceedingly comforted. I wondered what was become of the mob. But we were quickly informed they mistook the place, imagining I should alight (as I used to do,) at Wm. Stone's house, and had summoned by drum all their forces together, to meet at my coming. But Mr. Swindells, (one of the preachers,) innocently carrying me to the other end of the town, they did not find their mistake till I had done preaching.

"However, they attended us from the preaching house to William Stone's, throwing dirt, stones, and clods, in abundance; but they could not hurt us, only Mr. Swindells had a little dirt on his coat, and I had a few specks on my hat.

"After we had gone into the house, they began throwing large stones in order to break the door. But perceiving this would require some time, they dropped that design for the present. They then broke all the tiles on the penthouse, over the door, and poured in a shower of stones at the windows. One of their captains, in his great zeal, had followed us into the house, and was now shut in with us. He did not like this, and would fain have got out, but it was not possible. So he kept as close to me as he could, thinking himself safest when he was near me. But staying a little behind, (when I went up two pair of stairs, and stood close on one side where we were a little sheltered,) a large stone struck him on the forehead, and the blood spouted out like a stream. He cried out, 'O sir, are we to die to-night? What must I do? What must I do?'—I said, 'Pray to God. He is able to deliver you from all danger.' He took my advice, and began praying, I believe, as he had scarce ever done before.

Mr. Swindells and I then went to prayer; after which I told him, 'We must not stay here. We must go down immediately.'—He said, 'Sir, we cannot stir, you see how the stones fly about.'—I walked straight through the room and down the stairs; and not a stone came in till we were at the bottom. The mob had just broken open the door when we came into the lower room; and while they burst in at

one door, we walked out at the other. Nor did one man take any notice of us, though we were within five yards of each other.

"They filled the house at once, and proposed setting it on fire. But one of them remembering that his own house was next, persuaded them not to do it. Hearing one of them cry out, 'They are gone over the grounds,' I thought the hint was good. So we went over the grounds, to the far end of the town, where one waited, and undertook to guide us to Oakhill.

"I was riding on in Shepton-lane, it being now quite dark, when he cried out, 'Come down! come down from the bank!' I did as I was desired; but the bank being high, and the side almost perpendicular, I came down all at once, my horse and I tumbling one over another. But we both rose unhurt. In less than an hour we came to Oakhill, and the next morning to Bristol."

September 8, he came to London, and received the following account of the death of one of the travelling preachers: "John Jane was never well after walking from Epworth to Hainton, and an exceeding hot day, which threw him into a fever. But he was in great peace and love, even to those who greatly wanted love to him. He was sometime at Alice Shadforth's house, with whom he daily talked of the things of God, spent much time in private prayer, and joined likewise with her in prayer several times in a day. On Friday, Aug. 24, he sat in the evening by the fireside; about six he fetched a deep sigh, and never spoke more. He was alive till the same time on Saturday, when, without a struggle, or sign of pain, with a smile on his face, he passed away. His last words were, 'I find the love of God in Christ Jesus.'

"All his clothes, linen and woollen, stockings hat and wig, are not thought sufficient to answer his funeral expenses; which amount to one pound sixteen shillings and three pence. All the money he had was one shilling and four pence: "enough," adds Mr. Wesley, "for any unmarried preacher of the gospel to leave to his executors."

To do justice to the present history, as well as for the satisfaction of my readers, it may not be amiss, to give some account respecting Mr. Wesley's conjugal life.

The woman whom he married, viz. Mrs. Vizella was, as appears

from the best authority, well qualified for the sphere in which she was introduced. She indeed seemed truly pious, and was very agreeable in her person and manners. She conformed to every company, whether of the rich or poor, and she had a remarkable facility, and propriety, in addressing them concerning their true interest. She departed however from this excellent way, and the marriage consequently became an unhappy one. It was however agreed between Mr. and Mrs. Wesley, previous to their marriage, that he should not preach one sermon, or travel one mile less on that account. "If I thought I should my dear," says Mr. Wesley, "as well as I love you, I would never see your face more."

She did not however hold of this mind long. After travelling with him for awhile, she would have fain prevailed on him, to submit to a more domestic life. But, finding by experience, this to be impossible, she imbibed a spirit of jealousy, and at length became outrageous.— She repeatedly forsook his habitation, and was only brought back again by his earnest solicitude. She at length took a final departure from him, at the same time seizing a part of his journal and many papers besides, which she took away with her, and never would afterwards return them. She likewise sent him word, that she intended never again to return.

Considering this affair in its true light, who can wonder at Mr. Wesley's observing "*Non eam relinqui, non dimisi, non revocabo.*" "I have not left her, I have not put her away, I will not call her back."

She died in the year 1781, at Camberwell, near London. What fortune she possessed at her death she left to Mr. Vizella, her son by a former husband. To Mr. Wesley however, she bequeathed a ring.

For a more particular account of this affair, the reader is referred to "*Moore's life of Wesley,*" Vol. II. p. 145.

Mr. Wesley however, bore his severe trials well. He has repeatedly told me, [Mr. Moore,] that he believed the Lord overruled this whole painful business for his good; and that if Mrs. Wesley had been a better wife, and continued to act in that way in which she knew how to act, he might have been unfaithful in the great work to which the Lord had called him, and might have too much sought to please her according to her own views.

Soon after his marriage he resigned his fellow-ship. The letter of resignation was as follows. *Ego Johannes Wesley, Collegi Lincolnien- sis in academia Oxoniensi socius, quicquid mihi juris est in prædicta Societate ejusdem, rectori et sociis, sponte ac libere resigno; illis uni- versis, et singulis, perpetuam pacem, de omnimodo in Christo felicitat- um exoptans.* I John Wesley, fellow of Lincoln College Oxford, freely resign to the rector and fellows, whatsoever belongs to me in that society; earnestly wishing to them all, and to each of them, con- tinual and all felicity in Christ.

Mr. C. Wesley was now become, in a great degree, a domestic man; and the want of that activity which we have heretofore seen in his labours of love, much impaired his own comforts and laid him open to strong temptation. Mr. John Wesley has remarked to me, "While my brother remained with me he was joyous in his spirit, and his labor saddened him not. But when he departed from that activity to which the Lord called him, and in which he so greatly blessed him, his spirit became depressed; and being surrounded with "croakers," he often looked through the same clouds which enveloped them."

Having met in London, the two brothers went down to Shoreham in November, and talked the matter over in the presence of Mr. Perronet, whom Mr. C. Wesley used to call "our arch-bishop."—A less exceptionable *daysman* could not have been found; a man full of faith and love, and entirely devoted to God and to his work. He had fitted up a large outer room in the parsonage-house, (which I had the privilege of visiting,) where the preachers used to meet the pious people of the parish: the good man rejoicing in all that he heard, and in all the good that was done. In his presence the two brothers expressed their entire satisfaction in the end which each had in view; namely the glory of God and the salvation of souls. They both acknowledged the sincerity of each, in desiring union between them- selves as the means to that end; and after much conversation they both agreed to act in concert with respect to the preachers, so that neither of them should admit or refuse any but such as both admitted or refused.—About six weeks afterward they were at Shoreham again, and then signed the following articles of agreement:

"With regard to the preachers we agree,

"1. That none shall be permitted to preach in any of our societies till he be examined both as to his grace and gifts; at least by the assistant, who, sending word to us, may by our answer admit him a local preacher.

"2. That such preacher be not immediately taken from his trade, but be exhorted to follow it with all diligence.

"3. That no person shall be received as a travelling preacher, or be taken from his trade, by either of us alone, but by both of us conjointly, giving him a note under both our hands.

"4. That none of us will readmit a travelling preacher laid aside, without the consent of the other.

"5. That if we should ever disagree in our judgment, we will refer the matter to Mr. Perronet.

"6. That we will entirely be patterns of all we expect from every preacher; particularly of zeal, diligence, and punctuality in the work; by constantly preaching and meeting the societies; by visiting yearly Ireland, Cornwall, and the north; and, in general, by superintending the whole work and every branch of it with all the strength which God shall give us. We agree to the above written, till this day next year, in the presence of Mr. Perronet.

"JOHN WESLEY.

"CHARLES WESLEY."

Dr. Whitehead observes, "Mr. John Wesley was prevailed upon, with some difficulty, to sign these articles." But he soon found that, from the causes already mentioned, his brother was unable to execute so large an engagement with any efficiency. Mr. J. Wesley may therefore, from this time be considered as the sole director of the work, not from the heathenish principle which Dr. Whitehead imputes to him, without any evidence, viz., that he would be *aut Cæsar, aut nullus*, (*) but from necessity: he could not admit of any partner who would not superintend the whole work or every part of it, as above stated.—Mr. C. Wesley, however, occasionally assisted his brother, especially in London and Bristol, and his ministrations were always acceptable and profitable to the people.

(*) He would be supreme or he would be nobody.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. J. Wesley's illness—Renewal of Mr. C. Wesley's labors—Minutes of the Conference against Antinomianism—Protest of Mr. Shirely—Mr. Fletcher's writings—Anecdote of Mr. Wesley—Deed of Declaration.

Mr. Wesley had hitherto enjoyed remarkable health considering his great and continued labors and exposures of every kind. But, October 19, 1753, soon after his return to London he was taken ill. In a short time his complaint put on the appearance of an ague. Before he was perfectly recovered he repeatedly caught cold, and was presently threatened with a rapid consumption.—November 26, Dr. Fothergill told him he must not stay in town one day longer: that if any thing would do him good it must be the country air, with rest, exercise, and riding daily. In consequence of this advice he retired to Lewisham, to the house of his friend Mr. Blackwell, the banker. Here, not knowing how it might please God to dispose of him, and wishing "to prevent vile panegyric" in case of death, he wrote as follows:

HERE LIETH

THE BODY OF JOHN WESLEY,

A BRAND PLUCKED OUT OF THE BURNING:

WHO DIED OF A CONSUMPTION IN THE 51ST YEAR OF HIS AGE;
NOT LEAVING, AFTER HIS DEBTS ARE PAID, TEN POUNDS BEHIND
HIM; PRAYING

God be merciful to me an unprofitable servant!

He ordered that this inscription, if any, should be placed on his tombstone.

When in the most dangerous stage of this affliction, he received the following letter from the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield.

"Bristol, Dec. 3, 1753.

"Rev. and very dear Sir,

"If seeing you so weak when leaving London distressed me, the news and prospects of your approaching dissolution hath quite weighed me down. I pity myself, and the church, but not you; a radiant

Wesley's labors—
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throne awaits you, and ere long you will enter into your Master's joy: yonder he stands with a massy crown, ready to put it on your head, amidst an admiring throng of saints and angels. But I, poor I, that have been waiting for my dissolution these nineteen years, must be left behind, to grovel here below! Well! this is my comfort; it cannot be long ere the chariots will be sent, even for worthless me.

"If prayers can detain you, even you, Rev. and very dear Sir, shall not leave us yet: but if the decree is gone forth, that you must fall asleep in Jesus, may he kiss your soul away, and give you to die in the embraces of triumphant love! If in the land of the dying, I hope to pay my last respects to you next week. If not, Rev. and very dear Sir, F-a-r-e-w-e-ll. *Ego sequar esti non p assibus equis.* [That is, I shall follow, though not with equal step.] My heart is too big, tears trickle down too fast, and you are, I fear, too weak for me to enlarge. Underneath you may there be Christ's everlasting arms! I commend you to his never-failing mercy, and am,

Rev. and very dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, sympathizing,

And afflicted young brother,

In the Gospel of our common Lord,

GEORGE WHITEFIELD."

Mr. C. Wesley was roused by his brother's illness, and exerted himself to supply his place. Sunday, July 14, he came to Norwich, and at seven o'clock in the morning took the field. He preached on Hog-hill to about two thousand hearers, his brother standing by him, then in some degree amended in his health. A drunkard or two were troublesome, but more out of mirth than malice. They afterward went to church; and the people, both in the streets and at the cathedral, were remarkably civil. He adds, "The lessons, psalms, epistles, and gospel, were very encouraging. The anthem made our hearts rejoice: 'O pray for the peace of Jerusalem. They shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces! For my brethren and companions' sake will I now say, Peace be within thee! Because of the house of the Lord our God, will I seek thy good'—We received the sacrament at the hands of the bishop. In the afternoon I went to St. Peter's, and at five

o'clock to Hog-hill, where it was computed that ten thousand persons were present. Again I preached repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. They listened with great seriousness, their hearts were plainly touched, as some showed by their tears. Who could have thought the people of Norwich would ever more have borne a field preacher? "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." To him be all the glory, who saith, 'I will work, and who shall hinder?'

May 6, 1755, the conference began at Leeds. "The point," says Mr. Wesley, "on which we desired all the preachers to speak their minds at large was, *Whether we ought to seporate from the Church?* Whatever was advanced on one side or the other was seriously and calmly considered; and on the third day we were all fully agreed in that general conclusion, *That, whether it was LAWFUL or not, it was no ways EXPEDIENT.*"—"In a multitude of counsellors there is safety.'

Mr. Wesley proceeds: "August 6.—I mentioned to our congregation in London a means of encreasing serious religion which had been frequently practised by our forefathers, the joining of a covenant to serve God with all our heart and with all our soul. I explained this for several mornings following, and on Friday, many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching him to give us wisdom and strength that we might 'promise unto the Lord our God and keep it.'—On Monday, at six in the evening, we met for that purpose at our chapel in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the covenant proposed in the words of that blessed man, Richard Alleine, all the people stood up, in token of assent, to the number of about eighteen hundred. Such a night I scarce ever knew before. Surely the fruit of it shall remain for ever."—The covenant has been renewed once every year since this period. The practice is now become general.

Whoever seriously considers the foregoing pages, will readily conclude that the work carried on by Mr. Wesley and his assistants was really of God. The great concern for religion, which was evident in many thousands who were before careless or profane; the impression made on their minds of the importance of eternal things; their

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being so deeply convinced of the *number* and *heinousness* of their own sins, from which conviction spring 'fruits meet for repentance;' their being made happy partakers of 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost,' and walking in all *holiness*, were demonstrable proofs of this. For is their any name given under heaven, whereby men can be *thus* saved, but the name of Christ alone?

But the Lord, at sundry times and in divers places, poured out his Spirit in a remarkable manner. This religious *concern*, these divine *impressions*, and their consequent *fruits*, attended the preaching of God's word in so great a degree upon those occasions, that more were converted in a few months, or even weeks or days at such times, than for several years before. Many parts of these kingdoms have been thus favored at different seasons; but especially about the year 1760, and for some years after. In London particularly this revival of religion was great and conspicuous; and the word of the Lord was glorified among them.

The city of London had been highly favored from the commencement of Mr. Wesley's labors. He usually resided there during the winter months. There were now several chapels in it under his direction. In some of these, on every Lord's day, the service of the Church of England was performed, and the Lord's supper administered. Mr. Maxfield, whom we have already mentioned, was ordained by Dr. Barnard, then bishop of Londonderry, who resided for some time at Bath for the benefit of his health. The bishop received him at Mr. Wesley's recommendation, saying, "Sir, I ordain you, to assist that good man, that he may not work himself to death." He did assist Mr. Wesley for some years, and was eminently useful.

The doctrines of the Bible, of the Reformation, and of the church of England, were now preached in almost every part of the land. Present *salvation by grace through faith*, and *universal obedience* as the fruit thereof, urged on the consciences of men, caused *practical Christianity* again to revive: and to use the words of a pious and elegant writer(*) "Leaning on her fair daughters TRUTH and LOVE, she took a solemn walk through the kingdom, and gave a foretaste of heaven to all

(*) The late Rev. Mr. Fletcher, Vicar of Madely, Salop.

that entertained her." "She might," says he, "by this time have turned this favorite isle into a land flowing with spiritual milk and honey, if Apollyon, disguised in his angelic robes, had not played, and did not continue to play, his old (Antinomian)'game."

"Many assert that the 'clothing of the king's daughter is of wrought gold;' but few, very few, experience that 'she is all glorious within:' and it is well if many are not bold enough to maintain that she is *full of corruptions*. With more truth than ever we may say,

Ye different sects, who all declare,
Lo! here is Christ, or Christ is there!
 Your stronger proofs divinely give,
 And show us where the *Christians LIVE!*
 Your claim, alas! ye cannot prove,
 Ye want the genuine mark of *LOVE*.

Mr. Wesley had from the beginning borne a faithful testimony against this delusion. In his sermon preached before the university of Oxford, so early as the year 1738, he admitted that the doctrine of *salvation by faith* was often thus abused. "Many," says he, "will now, as in the apostles' days, 'continue in sin that grace may abound.' But their blood is on their own head. The goodness of God ought to lead them to repentance; and so it will those who are sincere of heart." After a trial of more than thirty years he was abundantly confirmed in his sentiment.

To raise a bulwark against this overflowing of ungodliness, and to prevent it from spreading among the people under his care, the evil principle which occasioned it was taken into consideration, in the conference of the year 1770. Minutes of this conference were soon after published, which inwere inserted the following propositions.

"Take heed to your doctrine."

"We said in 1744, 'We have leaned too much toward Calvinism.' Wherein?

"1. With regard to *man's faithfulness*. Our Lord himself taught us to use the expression, therefore we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, upon his authority, that if a man 'is not faithful in the unrighteous mammon, God will not give him the true riches.'

"2. With regard to *working for life*, which our Lord expressly commands us to do. 'Labor' (*ergazesthe*, literally work,) 'for the meat that endureth unto everlasting life.' And in fact every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for* as well as *from* life.

"3. We have received it as a maxim, that 'A man is to do nothing *in order to justification*.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God, should 'cease from evil, and learn to do well.' So God himself teaches by the prophet Isaiah. Whoever repents, should 'do works meet for repentance.' And if this is not *in order* to find favor, what does he do them for?

"Once more review the whole affair:

"1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God?

"He that now believes in Christ with a loving, obedient heart.

"2 But who amongst those that never heard of Christ?

"He that, according to the light he has, 'feareth God and worketh righteousness.'

"3. Is this the same with 'he that is *sincere*'?

"Nearly, if not quite.

"4. Is not this *salvation by works*?

"Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.(*)

"5. What have we then been disputing about these thirty years?

"I am afraid *about words*: [namely, in some of the foregoing instances]

"As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded *according to our works*, yea, *because of our works*? And how differs this from *Secundum merita operum*?(†) which is no more than, *as our works deserve*. Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot.

"The grand object to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who, by their own

(*) That is, '*works meet for repentance*;' and *faith* that pleads the *atonement* and the *promises*, and which is therefore called *the work of faith*, and also *justifying faith*. Does God justify any, who, being awakened, do not *thus* work?—We see here, that these Minutes were a death-blow to Antinomianism.

(†) According to the merit of works. A phrase among the ancient fathers.

confession, 'neither feared God nor wrought 'righteousness.' Is this an exception to the general rule?

"It is a doubt whether God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own thinking so is no proof. For we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect: [i. e., think their case more hopeless than it really is.]

"6. Does not talking, without proper caution, of a *justified* or *sanctified* STATE tend to mislead men; also naturally leading them to trust in what was done in *one moment*? Whereas, we are every moment *pleasing* or *displeasing* to God *according to our works*; according to the whole of our present inward tempers, and outward behavior."

It is hardly possible to give a just idea of the noise which these propositions occasioned among the religious professors of the land. Some, whose carnal confidence was shaken by them, cried out again, "that they were contrary to the gospel, and that Mr. Wesley had in them contradicted all his former declarations." Some even of the truly pious seemed staggered at them; and though they lamented the abuse of the gospel truths, could hardly bear so strong an antidote.

From the days of Augustine, who first introduced the question of the "Divine decrees" to the Christian church, even to the present day, this question has been mooted, and has occasioned much discord. The propositions at the Minutes were sufficient to kindle what before was only jealousy and suspicion, into a flame of contention and strife. The Calvinists took the alarm, and the late honorable and Reverend Walter Shirley wrote a circular letter to all the serious clergy and others through the land.

In June, 1771, Mr. Fletcher sent a copy of this letter to Mr. Wesley, and at the same time wrote as follows:—

"When I left Wales, where I stood in the gap for peace, I thought my poor endeavors were not altogether in vain. Lady Huntingdon said she would write civilly to you, and desire you to explain yourself about your Minutes. I suppose you have not heard from her; for she wrote me word since that she believed she must not meddle in the affair. Upon receiving yours from Chester, I cut off that part of it,

where you expressed your belief of, what is eminently called by us, *the doctrine of FREE GRACE*, and sent it to the College, desiring it might be sent to Lady Huntingdon. She hath returned it, with a letter, wherein she expresses the greatest disapprobation of it; the purport of it is, to charge you with tergiversation, (the old accusation of the Antinomians!) and me with being the dupe of your impositions.—She hath wrote in stronger terms to her college.

“Things, I hoped, would have remained here; but how am I surprised and grieved to see zeal borrowing the horn of discord, and sounding an alarm through the religious world against you! Mr. H—— called upon me last night and showed me a printed circular letter, which I suppose is or will be sent to the serious clergy and laity through the land. I have received none, as I have lost, I suppose, my reputation of being a *real Protestant*, by what I wrote on your Minutes in Wales.

“The following is an exact copy of the printed letter :

“‘SIR,—Whereas Mr. Wesley’s conference is to be held at Bristol on Tuesday, the 6th of August next, it is proposed by Lady Huntingdon and many other Christian friends, (*real Protestants*) to have a meeting at Bristol at the same time, of such principal persons, both clergy and laity, and who disapprove of the underwritten Minutes; and as the same are thought injurious to the very *fundamental principles of Christianity*, it is further proposed, that they go in a body to the said conference, and insist upon a formal *recantation* of the said Minutes; and, in case of a refusal, that they sign and publish their *protest* against them. Your presence, sir, on this occasion is particularly requested: but if it should not suit your convenience to be there, it is desired that you will transmit your sentiments on the subject, to such person as you think proper to produce them. It is submitted to you, whether it would not be right, in the opposition to be made to such a dreadful *hersey*, to recommend it to as many of your Christian friends, as well of the Dissenters as of the Established Church, as you can prevail on, to be there; the cause being of so public a nature.

I am sir, your obedient servant,

WALTER SHIRLEY.’”

Then followed a postscript, containing the objectionable propositions,

&c. &c. After stating this, Mr. Fletcher proceeds: "I think it my duty, dear sir, to give you the earliest intelligence of this bold onset; and assure you, that upon the *evangelical* principles mentioned in your last letter to me, I, for one, shall be glad to stand by you and your doctrine to the last, hoping that you will gladly remove stumblingblocks out of the way of the weak, and alter such expressions as may create prejudice in the hearts of those who are inclined to admit it. If you come this way, sir, I will show you the minutes of what I wrote in Wales, in defence of what is called your *dreadful heresy*; for, as to the writing itself, I have it not; Lady H. would never return it to me. Dear sir, we can never make too much of JESUS CHRIST: some may preach and exalt him *out of contention*, but let us do it *willingly and Scripturally*; and the Lord will stand by us. I beg, I entreat him, to stand by you; particularly at this time to give you the *simplicity of the dove*, and the *wisdom of the serpent*; the condescension of a child, and the firmness of a father.

"I write to Mr. Shirley, to expostulate with him to call in his circular letter. His sermons contain propositions much more *heretical* and *anti-Calvinistic* than your Minutes. If my letters have not the desired effect, I shall probably, if you approve of them, and will correct them, publish them for your justification. I find Mr. Ireland is to write, to make you *tamely recant*, without measuring swords, or breaking a pike with our *real Protestants*. I write to him also."

The honorable and reverend Walter Shirley, the brother of the unhappy earl Ferrars, and Chaplain to his sister the pious countess of Huntingdon, was a truly pious man, and affectionately attached for several years to Mr. Wesley, who had been the principal instrument of his conversion. The following letter will clearly show that piety and attachment:

Loughrea, Ang. 21, 1759.

"REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

Your obliging and truly Christian letter was welcome to my soul ten thousand thousand times; and brought along with it a warm satisfaction, which could only be exceeded by the pleasure of a personal conversation with you. And I am not without hopes, that when you shall think fit to visit those blessed seminaries of true vital religion in

this kingdom, of your own planting, you will take an opportunity of honoring this place, and more particularly my house, with the presence of one whose labors in the gospel of my dear master are so eminent.

"I thank you greatly for your Alarm: indeed, the devil could not make use of a more subtle, specious insinuation to dissuade us from pursuing the attack with vigor, than that of Christian prudence. I trust he sees himself baffled through your timely caution. But alas! what confidence is there to be put in the weakness of man! It is in the Lord's strength alone that I shall be able to triumph over this, and all other temptations.

"I highly honor and love Mr. Berridge, and Mr. Grimshaw.—May God bless them with increasing success, that they may 'see the travail of their souls and be satisfied!' and may he endue me with the same noble courage, that his name may be magnified even in this place!

"What will you say, dear sir? Will you not give up every favorable opinion of so unworthy a minister as I am, when I inform you, that though there are many under my charge who confess they have been awakened; yet I dare not boast of any confirmed converts (now living) through my preaching and ministry? I bless my God, however, for one dear soul, who departed in peace.

"I am now about to leave them for two or three months, being in a very bad state of bodily health, and advised to go to Bath. Let me entreat your earnest prayers to the God of all grace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that I may not be found an unprofitable servant; and that I may return to my dear parishioners, under the fullness of the blessing of the gospel of peace.

"That you may finish your course with joy, and in God's good season enter into the full possession of the fruits of your labors, is the sincere prayer of

Your affectionate brother,
W. SHIRLEY.

"To the Rev. J. Wesley."

A few years after this, Mr. Shirley adopted the creed of his noble sister,, and entering into all her views, became the champion of the cause which appeared to them of so much importance to "evangelical truth."



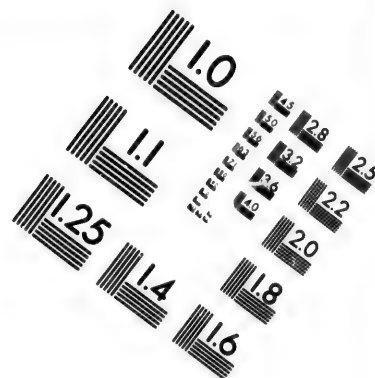
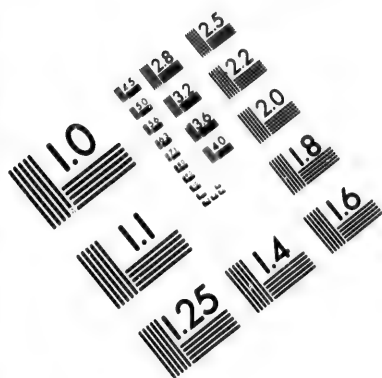
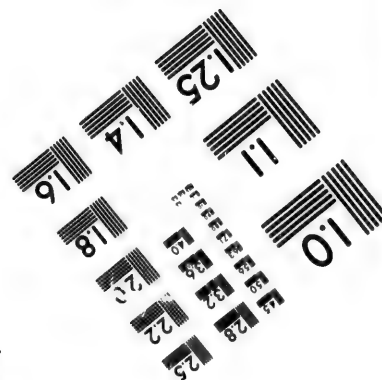
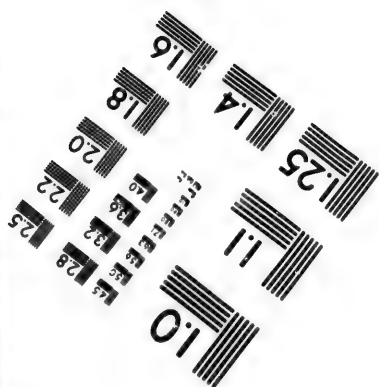
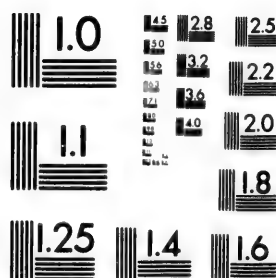


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Tuesday, August 6, the conference began at Bristol. On Thursday morning, Mr. Shirley and his friends (*) were admitted; when a conversation took place for two hours on the subject which occasioned their visit. Though the party had shown much violence in writing, yet the interview with the conference was managed with much temper and moderation. Mr. Wesley showed great love to his old friend. But the party in the nation was so irritated, that all accommodation became hopeless, and it was thought absolutely necessary to publish Mr. Fletcher's letters. On the 14th, Mr. Wesley wrote the following letter to Lady Huntingdon:

"MY DEAR LADY,

When I received the former letter from your ladyship, I did not know how to answer: and I judged, not only that silence would be the best answer, but also that with which your ladyship would be the best pleased. When I received your ladyship's of the 2d instant, I immediately saw that it required an answer; only I waited till the hurry of the conference was over, that I might do nothing rashly. I know your ladyship would not 'servilely deny the truth.' I think, neither would I; especially that great truth, JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH; which Mr. Law indeed flatly denies, (and yet Mr. Law was a child of God,) but for which I have given up all my worldly hopes, my friends, my reputation; yea, for which I have so often hazarded my life, and by the grace of God will do again. The principles established in the Minutes I apprehend to be no way contrary to this; or to that faith, that consistent plan of doctrine, which was 'once delivered to the saints.' I believe whoever calmly considers Mr. Fletcher's letters, will be convinced of this. I fear, therefore, "zeal against those principles, is no less than zeal against the truth, and against the *honor* of our Lord. The preservation of HIS honor appears so sacred to me, and has done for above these forty years, that I have counted, and do count all things loss in comparison of it. But till Mr. Fletcher's printed letters are answered, I must think every thing spoken against those

(*) The Calvinistic ministers, who were summoned by Mr. Shirley, were not willing to enter the lists in the way that he had appointed; and therefore the good man was attended only by a few of the Countess's students from her college at Treveca.

Minutes is totally destructive of *his honor*, and a palpable affront to *Him*, both as our Prophet and Priest, but more especially as the King of his people. Those letters, which therefore could not be suppressed without betraying the honor of our Lord, largely prove that the minutes lay no other foundation than that which is laid in Scripture, and which I have been laying, and teaching others to lay, for between thirty and forty years. Indeed it would be amazing that God should at this day prosper my labors as much, if not more than ever, by convincing as well as converting sinners, if I was 'establishing another foundation, repugnant to the whole plan of man's salvation under the covenant of grace, as well as the clear meaning of our Established Church, and all other Protestant Churches.' This is a charge indeed! But I plead, *Not Guilty!* And till it is proved upon me, I must subscribe myself.

My dear lady,

Your ladyship's affectionate, but much injured servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

The controversy now fully commenced, and was continued for some time, but very prudently committed almost wholly to Mr. Fletcher; who managed it with astonishing temper and success. Indeed, the temper of this gentleman did not lead him to polemic divinity. He was devout and pious to a degree seldom equaled since the days of the apostles. But being urged into this controversy by the love of truth, and reverence for Mr. Wesley, he displayed great knowledge of his subject, and a most happy *manner* of treating it. In his hands the ablest of his antagonists were as the lion in the hands of Samson. He demonstrated that those propositions were equally agreeable to Scripture, reason, and the writings of the soundest, even of the Calvinistic divines. He largely showed, that as *the day of judgment* differs from *the day of conversion*, so must the conditions of *justification*. That, as in the one we are considered as *mere sinners*, and raised out of guilt and misery, by an act of God's mercy, through faith in the merits of his son: so, in the other, we are considered as members of the mystical body of Christ; and being enabled by his grace to do works acceptable to God, we are justified in that awful day by the *evidence* though not the *merit* of those works, inward and outward; and yet that we are indebted for *both* to that glorious act of divine love, pro-

claimed by St. Paul, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.' And lastly that the propositions in question secured the one without at all weakening the other.

In all the controversies in which Mr. Wesley had hitherto been concerned, he stood alone. In this he had but little to do. He wrote one or two small tracts; but, as the reviewers of that day observed, he soon retired from the field, and went quietly on in his labor, happy in being succeeded by so able an auxiliary. Mr. Fletcher abounded in time as well as talents for the work. He equally excelled in temper and in skill. And while he exposed the errors of his mistaken opponents, he did honor to their piety.

From this time Mr. Wesley was but little troubled by the advocates for Absolute Predestination. Mr. Fletcher's Works have been a standing answer to all those who assert it; as well as highly useful to those who have been troubled concerning questions on this subject. They are published in nine volumes octavo, and are well worthy the attention of all serious persons, who will find therein 'the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left; the truth as it is in Jesus.'

An order had been made by the house of Lords in May, this year, 1776, "That the commissioners of his majesty's excise do write circular letters to all such persons whom they have reason to suspect to have plate, as also to those who have not paid regularly the duty on the same," &c.—In consequence of this order, the accomptant-general for household plate sent Mr. Wesley, in September, a copy of the order, with the following letter:—

"REVEREND SIR,

As the commissioners cannot doubt but you have plate, for which you have hitherto neglected to make an entry, they have directed me to send you the above copy of the lords' order, and to inform you they expect that you forthwith make due entry of all your plate; such entry to bear date from the commencement of the plate-duty, or from such time as you have owned, used, had, or kept any quantity of silver plate, chargeable by the act of parliament; as in default hereof the board will be obliged to signify your refusal to their lordships.

"N. B. An immediate answer is desired."

Mr. Wesley answered as follows:—

"SIR,

"I have two silver tea-spoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate which I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many around me want bread.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN WESLEY."

The year 1784 is remarkable in the annals of Methodism, 1. For the solidity given to its affairs by the deed of declaration, enrolled in chancery, whereby the numerous chapels of the connection were secured to the people for the purposes for which they had been built: and, 2. For the advancement of its spiritual privileges, by giving a full Christian ministry to the societies in America, just then become independent of the mother country.

The deed of declaration is dated February 28, 1724. It is entitled, "The Rev. John Wesley's declaration and Establishment of the Conference of the People called Methodists:" and, in the attested copy, is said to be "Enrolled in his majesty's high court of chancery."

CHAPTER VII.

Death of the Revd. CHARLES WESLEY—view of his character.

Dr. Whitehead observes, "Mr. Charles Wesley had a weak body and a poor state of health during the greatest part of his life. I believe he laid the foundation of both at Oxford, by too close application to study and abstinence from food. He rode much on horseback, which probably contributed to lengthen out life to a good old age. I visited him several times in his last sickness, and his body was, indeed, reduced to the most extreme state of weakness. He possessed that state of mind which he had been always pleased to see in others—unaffected humility and holy resignation to the will of God. He had no transports of joy, but solid hope and unshaken confidence in Christ, which kept his mind in perfect peace."

The circumstances of his death are related by his daughter, Miss Wesley, in a letter to her uncle, Mr. John Wesley, as follows:

"DEAR AND HONORED UNCLE,—

We were all present where my dear respected father departed this life. His end was what he particularly desired, it might be, 'peace.'

All his prayer was 'patience and an easy death;' he bade every one who visited him to supplicate for these, often repeating '*An easy death.*'

When we asked him if he wanted any thing, he frequently answered '*Nothing but Christ.*'

The 28th, my mother asked him if he had any thing to say to us, raising his eyes, he said, "Only thanks, love, blessing."

He was eager to depart, and if we moved him, or spoke to him, he answered, 'Let me die, Let me die.' His last words which I could hear, were, 'Lord, my heart my God.' He then drew his breath short, and the last, so gently, that we knew not exactly the moment in which his happy spirit fled."

Dr. Whitehead observes, "Mr. C. Wesley was of a warm and lively disposition, of great firmness and integrity, and generous and steady in his friendship. In his conversation he was pleasing, instructing and cheerful. His religion was genuine and unaffected. As a minister, he was familiarly acquainted with every part of divinity, and his mind was furnished with an uncommon knowledge of the scriptures. His discourses from the pulpit, flowed from the present views and feelings of his own mind. He had a remarkable talent of expressing the most important truths, with simplicity and energy, and his discourses were some times truly apostolical, forcing conviction on the hearers in spite of the most determined opposition. As a husband and a father, his character was amiable."

His poetical talents were of the first order. He wrote short hymns on most of the remarkable passages of the Old and New Testament, and very largely on some of both. It has been said by one who knew him superficially, that 'the poet was spoiled by religion: else he would have shined in the higher walks of that science.'

One day he was preaching at Moorfields, and having mentioned those things, (*) he added, "you may know one of those zealots by his bad temper." A person in the crowd immediately vociferated "you lie." 'Ha!' says Mr. Wesley, 'have I drawn out leviathan with a hook.'

(*) Absolute predestination and Antinomianism, which had been introduced among the people. Mr. C. Wesley was fully intent on opposing this evil.

Another anecdote which he related to me [Mr Moore] is perhaps still more striking. When that dignified character, Dr. Robinson, Primate of Ireland, and who had been raised to the peerage, was at the Hot Wells, near Bristol, he met Mr. C. Wesley in the pump-room. They were both of Christ Church, Oxford; the Arch-Bishop seemed glad to see his old fellow collegian, and conversed with him freely. After some time, he observed, "Mr. Wesley, you must be sensible that I have heard many things of you and your brother, but I have not believed them.—I knew you better; but one thing has always surprised me—your employing laymen.

C. W. It is your fault my Lord.

A. B. My fault Mr. Wesley?

C. W. Yes, my Lord, your's and your brethren's.

A. B. How so Sir?

C. W. Why my Lord, you hold your peace, and so the stones cry out.

They took a turn in silence. His grace however rallied.

A. B. But I hear they are unlearned men.

C. W. Very true, my Lord, in the general they are; so—the *dumb ass rebuked prophet*.

His grace immediately turned the conversation.

I shall conclude the sketch of the character of this great and inestimable man, by expressing my convictions of him also, as of his brother, that

'I ne'er shall look upon his like again.'

CHAPTER VIII.

Latter end, and death of the Revd. JOHN WESLEY.—Review of his character.

The long life graciously dispensed to those brothers in the flesh and in the Lord, was a blessing to the people under their care. The want of the personal superintendence of Mr. C. Wesley, in his latter years, was but little felt while his brother continued in the full enjoyment of his vast powers. But the time drew near when he also must prove, that 'it is appointed unto men once to die.' This awful hour began now to be very generally anticipated, accompanied

with inquiries concerning the probable consequences of his death to that great work of which he had been the father, and still continued the chief instrument. He alone seemed without carefulness. That it was *a work of God*, and consequently that it would no more come to an end than the *word* that was given, and by which it had been formed, seemed never for a moment to depart from his mind. That his death must be sudden, was a very general thought; "for, if the people apprehend danger, they will keep him here while prayer will be heard." Careful to do the work of him that sent him, all other care he cast upon him in whom is the life of man.

On his birth-day, (June 28, 1788,) Mr. Wesley observes, "I this day enter on my eighty-sixth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also! How little have I suffered yet, by 'the rush of numerous years!' It is true I am not so *agile* as I was in time past: I do not run or walk so fast as I did. My *sight* is a little decayed: my left eye is grown dim, and hardly serves me to read. I have daily some pain in the ball of my right eye, as also in my right temple, (occasioned by a blow received some months since,) and in my right shoulder and arm, which I impute partly to a sprain and partly to rheumatism. I find likewise some decay in my memory with regard to names, and things lately past; but not at all with regard to what I have read or heard twenty, forty or sixty years ago. Neither do I find any decay in my hearing, smell, taste or appetite, (though I want but a third part of the food I did once,) nor do I feel any such thing as weariness, either in travelling or preaching. And I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly as ever.

"To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God, fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein; and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children.

"May we not impute it as inferior means:

"1. To my constant exercise and change of air?

"To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or at sea, since I was born?

"3. To my having slept at command, so that whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night?

"4. To my constant preaching at five in the morning, for above fifty years?

"5. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow, or anxious care?

"6 Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye or temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time.

"7 Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle I do not know; but be it one way or the other, I have only to say,

My remnant of days
I spend to his praise
Who died the whole world to redeem;
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him!"

It had been reported that Mr. Charles Wesley had said a little before he died, that his brother would outlive him but one year. Mr. Wesley did not pay much attention to this, but he seemed to think, that considering his years, and the symptoms of decay which he had marked in himself, such an event was highly probable. Yet he made not the least alteration in his manner of living, or in his labors. He often said to me, during that year, "Now what ought I to do in case I am to die this year? I do not see what I can do but to go on in my labor just as I have done hitherto." And in his Journals he remarks, "If this is to be the last year of my life, I hope it will be the best. I am not careful about it, but heartily receive the advice of the angel in Milton,

'How well is thine : how long permit to heaven!'"

In conversing on this subject, before he left London, he observed to me, "Mr. (afterward Sir) James Stonehouse said, many years ago, that my brother and I should die in the harness. My brother did not, but I believe I shall."

On the first day of the following year, (1790) he remarks: "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; my mouth is hot and dry every morning. I

have a lingering fever almost every day. My motion is weak and slow. However, blessed be God I do not slack my labor. I can preach and write still."

Being in the house with him when he wrote thus, I was greatly surprised. I knew it must be as he said; but I could not imagine his weakness was so great. He still rose at his usual hour, four o'clock, and went through the many duties of the day, not indeed with the same apparent vigor, but without complaint, and with a degree of resolution that was astonishing. He would still, as he afterwards remarks, "do a little for God before he dropped into the dust."

I should greatly rejoice to be able to testify that his days of weakness were days of uninterrupted tranquility. That he might enjoy even more than

"The soul's calm sunshine and the heartfelt joy,"

was certainly the wish of every benevolent mind. God had made all those who had been his enemies in years past, to be at peace with him. But he had still to contend with that 'jealousy' which 'is cruel as the grave,' and never to be satisfied.

He often observed, that in a course of fifty years, he had never, either *premeditatedly* or *willingly* varied from the Church of England in one article, either of doctrine or discipline; but that through *necessity* not *choice*, he had slowly and warily, and with as little offence as possible, varied in some points of discipline, by preaching in the fields, by extemporary prayer, by employing lay-preachers, by forming and regulating societies, and by holding yearly conferences; but that he did none of these things till he was convinced of the necessity of them, and could no longer omit them but at the peril of his soul. And his constant wish and prayer was, that all who labored with him, or were under his care, might herein tread in his steps.

On Thursday the 17 February, 1791, he preached at Lambeth. When he came home he seemed not to be well: and being asked, how he did? he said, he believed he had caught cold.

Friday the 18.—He read and wrote as usual, and preached at Chelsea in the evening. But he was obliged to stop once or twice, and to inform the people his cold so affected his voice as to prevent his speaking without those necessary pauses,

Saturday the 19.—He filled up most of his time with reading and writing, though his fever and weakness seemed evidently increasing. At dinner he desired a friend to read to him three or four chapters out of the book of Job. He rose (according to custom) early the next morning, but utterly unfit for his sabbath-day's exercise. At seven o'clock he was obliged to lie down, and slept between three and four hours. When he awoke he said, "I have not had such a comfortable sleep this fortnight past." In the afternoon he lay down again, and slept an hour or two: afterwards two of his own discourses on our Lord's *Sermon on the Mount* were read to him, and in the evening he came down to supper.

Monday the 21.—He seemed much better; and though his friends tried to dissuade him from it, would keep an engagement made some time before, to dine at Twickenham. When he returned home he seemed better: and on Tuesday went on with his usual work; and preached in the evening at the chapel in the City-road.

On Wednesday he went to Leatherhead, and preached to a small company on "Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found; call ye upon him, while he is near." Here ended the ministerial labors of this man of God. On Thursday he stopped at Mr. Wolff's at Balaam. At this place he was cheerful; and seemed nearly as well as usual, till Friday about breakfast time, when he grew very heavy. About 11 o'clock he returned home; and, having sat down in his room, desired to be left alone, and not to be interrupted for half an hour by any one.

When the limited time was expired, some mulled wine was given him. He drank a little, and seemed sleepy; but in a few minutes threw it up, and said, "I must lie down." He accordingly was put to bed, and most of the day, having a quick pulse and a burning fever.

Saturday the 26.—He continued much the same; spoke but little, and if roused to answer a question, or take a little refreshment, (which was seldom more than a spoonful at a time,) he soon dozed again.

On Sunday morning he got up, took a cup of tea, and seemed much better. While sitting in his chair he looked quite cheerful, and repeated the latter part of that verse in the Scripture Hymns on 'Forsake me not, when my strength faileth:'

Till glad I lay this body down,
 Thy servant, Lord, attend;
 And O! my life of mercy crown
 With a triumphant end!

Soon after, in a most emphatical manner, he said, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth." Some who were then present, speaking rather too much to him, he tried to exert himself, but was soon exhausted and obliged to lie down. After a while he looked up, and said, "Speak to me, I cannot speak."—On which one of the company said, "Shall we pray with you, sir?"—He earnestly replied, "Yes." And while they prayed his whole soul seemed engaged with God for an answer, and he added a hearty amen.

About half after two, he said, "There is no need for more than what I said at Bristol. My words then were,

I the chief of sinners am,
 But Jesus died for me! (*)

One said, "Is this the present language of your heart, and do you now feel as you then did?" He replied, "Yes." When the same person repeated,

"Bold I approach th' eternal throne,
 And claim the crown through Christ my own;"

and added, "'Tis enough. He, our precious Immanuel, has purchased, has promised all;" he earnestly replied, "He is all! He is all!" and then said, "I will go." Soon after to his niece Miss Wesley, who sat by his bedside, he said, "Sally, have you zeal for God now?"—After this the fever was very high, and at times affected his head; but

(*) At the Bristol conference in the year 1783, Mr. Wesley was taken very ill: neither he nor his friends thought he would recover. From the nature of his complaint, he thought a spasm would probably seize his stomach and occasion sudden death. Under these views of his situation, he said to Mr. Bradford, "I have been reflecting on my past life: I have been wandering up and down between fifty and sixty years, endeavoring in my poor way to do a little good to my fellow creatures; and now it is probable that there are but a few steps between me and death; and what have I to trust to for salvation? I can see nothing which I have done or suffered that will bear looking at. I have no other plea than this:

"I the chief of sinners am,
 But Jesus died for me."

The sentiment here expressed, and his reference to it in his last sickness, plainly shows how steadily he had persevered in the same views of the gospel, with which he set out to preach it.

even then, though his head was subject to a temporary derangement, his heart seemed wholly engaged in his Master's work.

In the evening he got up again, and while sitting in his chair, he said, "How necessary is it for every one to be on the right foundation !

" I the chief of sinners am,
But Jesus died for me."

We must be justified by faith, and then go on to full sanctification."

He slept most of the following day, and spoke but little; yet that little testified how much his whole heart was taken up in the care of the churches, the glory of God, and the things pertaining to that kingdom to which he was hastening. Once in a low, but very distinct voice, he said, "There is no way into the holiest but by the blood of Jesus."

He afterwards enquired what the words were on which he preached at Hamstead a short time before. He was told they were these: 'Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich; yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.' He replied, "That is the foundation, the only foundation: there is no other." He also repeated three or four times in the space of a few hours, 'We have boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus.'

Tuesday, March 1.—After a very restless night, (though when asked whether he was in pain, he generally answered "No," and never complained through his whole illness, except once when he felt a pain in his breast when he drew his breath,) he began singing,

All glory to God in the sky,
And peace upon earth be restored!
O Jesus, exalted on high,
Appear our omnipotent Lord!
Who, meanly in Bethlehem born,
Didst stoop to redeem a lost race,
Once more to thy people return,
And reign in thy kingdom of grace.
O! wouldst thou again be made known,
Again in the Spirit descend;
And set up in each of thine own,
A kingdom that never shall end!

Thou only art able to bless,
And make the glad nations obey;
And bid the dire enemy cease,
And bow the whole world to thy sway.

Here his strength failed : but after laying still awhile, he called for a pen and ink. They were brought to him : but those active fingers, which had been the blessed instruments of conveying spiritual consolation and useful instruction to thousands, could no longer perform their office. Some time after, he said, "I want to write:" but on the pen's being put into his hand, and the paper held before him, he said, "I cannot." One of the company, answered, "Let me write for you, sir: tell me what you would say." "Nothing," replied he, "but that God is with us." In the forenoon he said, "I will get up." While they were bringing his clothes, he broke out in a manner which, considering his extreme weakness, astonished all present, in these words :

I'll praise my Maker while I've breath,
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures.

Happy the man, whose hopes rely
On Israel's God : he made the sky,
And earth and seas with all their train;
His truth for ever stands secure,
He saves th' oppress'd, he feeds the poor,
And none shall find his promise vain.

Another time, he was feebly endeavoring to speak, beginning, "Nature is——Nature is." One that was present, added "Nearly exhausted, but you are entering into a new nature, and into the society of blessed spirits." He answered, "Certainly;" and clasped his hands together, saying, "Jesus!" the rest could not be well heard, but his lips continued moving as in fervent prayer.

When he got into his chair, he appeared to change for death; but regardless of his dying frame, he said, with a weak voice, "Lord, thou givest strength to those that can speak, and to those that cannot.—Speak, Lord, to all our hearts, and let them know that thou loosest thy tongue."^a

To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who sweetly all agree,—

Here his voice failed him, and after gasping for breath, he said, "Now we have done—Let us all go." He was then laid on the bed, from which he rose no more. After lying still, and sleeping a little, he desired those who were present to pray and praise. They knelt down, and the room seemed to be filled with the divine presence. A little after he said, "Let me be buried in nothing but what is woollen, and let my corpse be carried in my coffin into the chapel." Then, as if done with all below, he again begged they would pray and praise.—Several friends that were in the house being called up, they all knelt down to prayer, at which time his fervor of spirit was visible to every one present. But in particular parts of the prayer, his whole soul seemed to be engaged in a manner which evidently showed how ardently he longed for the full accomplishment of their united desires. And when Mr. Broadbent, who did not long survive him, was praying in a very expressive manner, that if God was about to take away their father to his eternal rest, he would be pleased to continue and increase his blessing upon the doctrine and discipline, which he had long made his aged servant the means of propagating and establishing in the world; such a degree of fervor accompanied his loud amen, as was every way expressive of his soul's being engaged in the answer of the petitions.

On rising from their knees, he took hold of all their hands, and with the utmost placidness, saluted them, and said, "Farewell, farewell."

A little after, a person coming in, he strove to speak, but could not. Finding they could not understand him, he paused a little, and with all the remaining strength he had, cried out, "*The best of all is, God is with us;*" and then lifting up his dying arm in token of victory, and raising his feeble voice with a holy triumph, not to be expressed, he again repeated the heart reviving words, "*The best of all is, God is with us.*"

Seeing some persons standing by his bed side, he asked, "Who are these?" and being informed who they were; Mr. Rodgers said, "Sir, we are come to rejoice with you; you are going to receive your crown." "It is the Lord's doing," he replied, "and marvellous in

our eyes." On being told that his sister-in-law, Mrs. Wesley, was come, he said, "He giveth his servants rest." He thanked her, as she pressed his hand, and affectionately endeavored to kiss her.— On wetting his lips, he said, "We thank thee, Oh Lord, for these and all thy mercies: bless the Church and King; and grant us truth and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord, forever and ever!" (*)

At another time he said, "He causeth his servants to lie down in peace." Then pausing a little, he cried, "The clouds drop fatness!" and soon after, "The Lord is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge!" He then called those present to prayer; and though he was greatly exhausted, he appeared still more fervent in spirit. Those exertions were however too much for his feeble frame; and most of the night following, though he often attempted to repeat the psalm before mentioned, he could only utter—

I'll praise—I'll praise——

On Wednesday morning the closing scene drew near. Mr. Bradford, his faithful friend, prayed with him, and the last word he was heard to articulate was, "Farewell!" A few minutes before ten, while several of his friends were kneeling around his bed, without a lingering groan, this man of God, this beloved pastor of thousands, entered into the joy of his Lord.

At the desire of many friends, his corpse was placed in the New chapel, and remained there the day before his interment. (†) His face during that time had the trace of a heavenly smile upon it, and a beauty which was admired by all that saw it. The crowds which came to see him, while he lay in his coffin, were so great, that his friends, apprehensive of a tumult if he was interred at the usual time, determined to bury him, contrary to their first resolution, between five and six in the morning; of which no notice was given till late the preceding evening; notwithstanding which, the intelligence had so far transpired, that some hundreds attended at that early hour. These, with

(*) This was his constant thanksgiving after meals.

(†) Mr. Southey has repeated, after Mr. Hampson, "That he had a Bible in one hand, and a white handkerchief in the other; and the old clerical cap on his head. As I was an eye witness, I may state that there is no truth at all in this account. He had no clerical cap, old or new, in his possession; and his friends had too much sense to put any thing into the hands of a corpse [*His Biographer.*]

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many tears, saw his dear remains deposited in the vault which he had some years before prepared for himself, and for those itinerant preachers who should die in London. From those whom he loved in life, he chose not to be divided in death.

The funeral service was read by the late Rev. Mr. Richardson, who had served him as a son in the gospel, for nearly 30 years, and who now lies with him in the same vault. When Mr. Richardson came to that part of the service, "For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God to take unto himself the soul of our dear brother," &c. he substituted, with the most tender emphasis, the epithet, "Father," instead of "Brother;" which had so powerful an effect on the congregation, that from silent tears they seemed universally to burst out into loud weeping.

The inscription on the coffin was,

JOHANNES WESLEY, A. M.

Olim Soc. Coll. Lin. Oxon.

Ob. 2 do. die Martii, 1791.

An. Æt. 88. (*)

The following was the inscription on his tomb :

To the Memory of

THE VENERABLE JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

This great light arose,

(By the singular providence of God,)

To enlighten these nations,

And to revive, enforce, and defend,

The pure apostolical doctrines and practices of the

Primitive Church;

Which he continued to do, by his writings and by his labors,

For more than half a century :

And, to his inexpressible joy,

Not only beheld their influence extending,

And their efficacy witnessed

In the hearts and lives of many thousands,

As well in the Western World as in these kingdoms :

But also, far above all human power or expectation, lived to see provision

Made, by the singular grace of God,

(*) John Wesley, Master of Arts, formerly fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, died on the 2d day of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

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For their continuance and establishment,
To the joy of future generations!
Reader, if thou art constrained to bless the instrument,
Give God the glory!

After having languished a few days, he at length finished his course
And his life together;
Gloriously triumphing over death,
March 2, An. Dom. 1791,
In the eighty-eighth year of his age.

At the death of Mr. Wesley, the state of Methodism stood thus: —

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members
In England, - - - -	65	196	52,832
In Ireland, - - - -	29	67	14,106
In Wales, - - - -	3	7	566
In Scotland, - - - -	8	18	1,086
In the Isle of Man, - - -	1	3	2,580
In the Norman Isles, - - -	2	4	498
In the West-India Isles, - - -	7	13	4,500
In the British dominions in America, - - -	4	6	800
In the United States of America, - - -	97	198	43,265
Total,	216	511	120,233

When Mr. Wesley died, it was properly said, "A prince and a great man had fallen that day in Israel," 2 Sam. iii, 38. The word here rendered prince, some times means a leader, and sometimes a person of superior or princely qualities. And in both these views it fitly applied to Mr. Wesley.

Let us take an enlarged view of his character, and consider him,

I. As a man of good mental capacity. All whoever knew him, could not but discover that he had by nature a strong and clear understanding. Without good natural abilities, as a foundation, no education, however good, or long continued, can make an accomplished man. But,

2. Mr. Wesley had a liberal education. The advantages arising from the knowledge of languages, and of arts and sciences, he possessed in a high degree. And he well knew how to apply these to the most useful purposes as a minister of the gospel. His mind was

richly furnished with the various branches of literature. He was well acquainted with the ancient as well as several modern languages. In the learned languages he was allowed, by the best judges, to be a critic. But it was *sacred* literature which most engaged his attention. He was a great proficient in the Hebrew language, and had read the Old Testament, in that language, with singular attention. And in Greek, the original language of the New Testament, he was an able critic, and so conversant with it, that many times when he was at a loss to repeat a passage out of the New Testament in the words of our common translation, he was never at a loss to repeat it in the original Greek, which made it evident, that the words and phrases of the original, were more familiar to him than the words of the English Bible.

3. He studied also the works of the creation with great attention, as the five volumes which he published on natural philosophy will sufficiently evince.

4. The art of logic he had cultivated with much care, and in this science it has been generally acknowledged he was a master. But logic in his view of it, is not the art of wrangling, or making distinctions where there is no difference; but "The art of good sense; the art of comprehending things clearly; of judging truly; and of reasoning conclusively; or, in another view of it, the art of learning and teaching."

5. As to morality and religion, his character was the very best. From his infancy he revered the name and the word of God. He habituated himself to attend to the ordinances of religion, and acted with the utmost conscientiousness and regularity as far as his understanding was informed.

All these properties tended to qualify him for enquiring after truth. And in consequence of making this enquiry in the most deep and serious manner, he was convinced that in one thing he was greatly *lacking*. And this thing was nothing less than the *one thing needful*; or genuine experimental Christianity. Notwithstanding all his attainments, as a linguist, a philosopher, and a student in divinity; notwithstanding his knowledge and fluency on religious subjects; his alms-giving, his willingness to labour and suffer for the good of others,

his self-denial, and taking up of his cross, this, he said he had learnt, that he had nothing in or of himself to plead, nor any hope, but that if he sought he should find Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith. And this opinion was not taken up hastily, but was the result of serious and mature enquiry, a conviction of mind, founded on scriptural and rational views of God himself. He used great caution in making up his mind upon the different doctrinal subjects. He searched the scriptures, and exerted the utmost faculties of his reasoning powers. He was an advocate for the exercise of reason in matters of religion, observing, that both our Lord and his apostles reasoned continually with their opposers, and that the strongest reasoner he had ever observed, excepting Jesus of Nazareth, was Paul of Tarsus; the man who left that plain direction for all Christians, "In malice or wickedness, be ye children; but in understanding, or reason, be ye men."

His general view of religion, was agreeable to the nature of God and man, and their mutual relations. The outcry raised against him and his followers, as enthusiasts and fanatics was groundless, and was the offspring of prejudice and ignorance.

He viewed the gospel as a general display of the perfections of God, in which they sweetly harmonize, and shine forth with peculiar lustre: As a dispensation of mercy to men, holding forth a free pardon of sin to all who repent and believe in Christ. As enjoining universal holiness both in heart and life, being designed to regulate our affections, and govern our actions. The gospel holds forth blessings suited to our present state and necessity: wisdom to instruct us, grace to pardon and sanctify us; together with promises of help and protection through the snares and difficulties of life.

These views of the gospel Mr. Wesley published, and that with such energy as made a deep and lasting impression upon the hearers. And in explaining the *order* in which gospel blessings are bestowed, he displayed a mind well instructed. He showed that the first step towards being a Christian is to repent, and that in order to this the conscience must be awakened, and that till a man be convinced of the evil of sin, he will not depart from it; and that till he sees something beautiful in holiness, and desirable in being reconciled to God, the

sinner is not duly prepared to receive the Lord Jesus Christ. Read Matt. xi. 17. Acts iii. 19.—xx. 20, 21.

After repentance towards God, the next step is faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, as the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world, John I, 29. As the only and all sufficient Saviour, Luke xix. 10. I. Tim. i. 15. 1 Cor. i. 30.

Mr. Wesley accurately distinguished sanctification from justification ; he showed that justification admits us into a state of grace and favour with God, into a state of fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ ; that being justified our relation to God is altered, our sins are forgiven, and we are become children of God, and heirs of all the great and precious promises of the gospel, But he did not stop here, but inculcated the necessity of sanctification, nay, urging believers to go on to perfection, Heb. vi. 1, 2. This sometimes made even some pious persons, from mistaken views of his sentiments, raise a clamour against him. But he often and sufficiently explained his meaning, specifying that by perfection, he meant such a measure of love to God and man, and such an attachment to every thing that is lovely or of good report, that the heart will be averse to all evil, and readily disposed for every good word and work.

Mr. Wesley maintained that God is love, and therefore, he is loving unto every man, and his tender mercy is over all his works, Psalm cxlv. 9. He maintained that Christ died for all, that all are invited to come to him for salvation, and that whosoever thus cometh to him he will in no wise cast out. He maintained that a sufficiency of grace is given to all, and that while all the glory of the salvation of those who get to heaven will belong to God, the blame of the damnation of those who go to hell will wholly belong to themselves. On this account he was sometimes termed an Arminian. And some who used the term, attached ideas to it, that were far from being just respecting Mr. Wesley. Some suppose that as an Arminian, he preached salvation by works, and degraded Christ. But this was very erroneous. He preached the doctrine of free grace as much as any Calvinist, asserting that eternal life, and every degree of preparation for it, are all the free, undeserved gifts of God, Rom. vi. 23.

Nevertheless, he insisted upon good works as the necessary and indispensable fruits of faith.

One point more must be briefly touched upon, I mean that of a Christian experience. Many have supposed this to be mere imagination, and hence have arisen the charges of enthusiasm. But true Christian experience is real, and rests upon a foundation as solid as the evidence of our senses.

Christian experience, is knowledge founded upon experiment, and is the present possession of the benefits of the gospel, which tends to prepare us for the future enjoyment of that eternal rest which remaineth for the people of God. If we use the word in the most comprehensive sense, so as to include the receiving of Christ in his mediatorial offices, it will imply repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the various fruits of the Spirit, viz. love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, and temperance, Gal. v. 22, 23.

In the New Testament we read of persons who did experience the witness and fruits of the Spirit. And it is certain that *we* may experience these also, if we seek them in the way which God has appointed. The evidence which a man has who experiences these things is of the strongest kind. If a man's understanding be enlightened with gospel truths; if his conscience be awakened; if in consequence of this, he turns from his sins, is humbled and ashamed before God, and prays for mercy; is it possible that such a change as this should take place, in his views of himself, in the dictates of his conscience, and in his conduct, and he not know it? And when a person is enabled to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ to the saving of his soul; to rest fully upon him for pardon and acceptance with God; such a person must be conscious of this act of his mind, and the change in his views of God, and the feelings of his mind that consequently follow. Will he not be as conscious and certain of these things as when he sees an object before him, or feels pleasure or pain? If he that believeth be filled with love, joy, peace, and the other fruits of the Spirit, must he not be certain of this? Our internal consciousness carries the same conviction of reality with it as our external senses. Would it not appear exceedingly absurd to you, if you heard a person say, that he loved an object dearly, but

was not conscious of any love? That he rejoiced exceedingly in a thing, but that he did not feel any joy? In like manner, if believing in Christ, I feel peace, I cannot but know this; and if I look up to God through Jesus Christ with holy confidence, and feel joyful in his salvation, I must be conscious and certain of it. *Christian Experience*, then, as Mr. Wesley explained it for so many years, both in preaching and writing, has *certainly* in it: if a man has it he cannot be ignorant of it. But we must say, that those who have it not, cannot form a just conception of it. It is impossible for those who have not felt the peace of God to form a just notion of it. The evidence of this stands on the same ground as the evidence of our external senses. If a man had never seen colours, he could not form any true idea of them. And if a man had never felt pain or pleasure, he could not be taught to understand what they are, however perfect his rational faculties might be. To *know* them he must *feel* them. It is just so in Christian experience. You must feel it, and then you will know what it is, and as easily distinguish it from the feelings or consciousness arising from other things, as you distinguish seeing from hearing, or touching from smelling.

Let us now glance at the *labors* of Mr. Wesley, and also the *effects* of them. From his earliest youth he was a person of the greatest diligence and industry. And when he became a preacher, and especially after he was more perfectly instructed in the genuine doctrines of the gospel, he was "instant in season, and out of season," being "in his labors more abundant than most ministers of the gospel." In him were united the necessary qualifications for useful study and active life. He preached in churches wherever he had an opportunity, not only in the commencement of what is termed Methodism, but to the conclusion of his long and laborious life. But in the beginning especially, the doctrines he preached offended some, and the attendant crowds raised envy and jealousy in others, so that most of the churches were soon shut against him. He then went out into the highways, as well as into the streets and lanes of cities, to invite sinners to come to the gospel feast. By this step, he at once abandoned every former prospect of ease, honor, and wealth: while nothing presented itself to his view, for this world, but labor and weariness, accompanied with contempt, reproach, and persecution. Most certainly nothing but a sense of duty

Could influence a man of such calm and deliberate reflection to take such a step. Mr. Wesley was *regular* and *steady* in his labors; and these labors were carried to an astonishing extent. He endured many hardships, and suffered much reproach. And, what to some may appear more than this, he kept regularly to his work, in defiance of the pleasure he found in reading and study, and the still more fascinating charms of rational and polite conversation.

For more than sixty years he constantly rose at four o'clock in the morning. The work of God, in which he was engaged, occupied his time and attention, and considering it as the great business of his life, he made every thing else subservient to it.

His industry was almost incredible, and perhaps without a parallel. Sixteen hours out of every twenty-four, from four in the morning till eight in the evening, his time was industriously employed in reading, writing, preaching, regulating the affairs of his societies, and travelling. During a few of his last years he travelled in a carriage, the expenses of which were borne by a few friends. Prior to this, he travelled on horseback, and often thirty, forty, or fifty miles in a day, besides preaching twice, thrice, or four times. If we consider the whole of his labors, and compare them with those of many other men who have been deemed industrious, we might almost say that he lived life twice or thrice over.

But what have attracted the most public attention are the *effects* of Mr. Wesley's labors. These, in conjunction with those of his brother Charles and Mr. Whitefield, and their helpers and successors, have had a most extensive influence on all denominations of professing Christians in the British empire, and the United States of America; and their influence, in some measure, has extended to various other nations.— They have had, especially, no small influence on many ministers of the different denominations, in awakening their attention to the genuine essential doctrines of the gospel, and the duties of the Christian ministry, though some of these ministers have been ashamed to acknowledge it. At any rate, the labors of these men, and especially those of Mr. Wesley, have under God, produced the whole body of Methodists, now so numerous in Great-Britain and Ireland, in the West-Indies, and on the American continent. And wherever these are found, with very

few, if any exceptions, they are more unblameable and exemplary in their conduct than they were before; breathe more of a true Christian spirit, and display more of genuine Christianity, than they ever did before, and that in every state, relation and condition in life. And the Methodists are not only better *Christians* and *citizens* than they were before, but better *subjects* also. It is one rule of the society, that all the members of it shall yield subjection to the laws of the land, and render tribute to the state as required, avoiding smuggling and every practice of this sort.

In these labors of love, productive of so many and so good effects, did Mr. Wesley spend between fifty and sixty years of his life.

His travels were incessant, and almost unparalleled. Without the greatest punctuality and care in the management of his time, he could not have gone through his abundant and diversified labors. But he had stated hours for every purpose, and he did not suffer one thing to interfere with another. Between nine and ten o'clock he regularly retired to rest, and rose soon after four in the morning; and no business, company, or conversation, could induce him to depart from his rules of conduct. He wrote, travelled, visited the sick, and did every thing else in hours appointed, which hours were inviolable. To ascertain the precise measure of Mr. Wesley's labors, would be an impossible task. His public ministrations were but a part of them. But from these, we may form some conception of the rest. For more than fifty years successively, he generally preached twice every day, and not unfrequently four or five times. To these may be added numberless exhortations addressed to the societies after preaching, with various other employments. The lowest calculation we can make of his travels will be four thousand miles annually, which in fifty-two years will make two hundred and eight thousand miles. And at the lowest computation in these fifty-two years, from 1739 to 1791, he could not preach fewer than forty thousand four hundred and sixty sermons. He read a great deal as he travelled. Even when he travelled on horseback, which he did till he was very old, he would travel forty, fifty, or sixty miles a day, with a book in his hand.

To look at him he was a very slow writer. Yet, by constant, unwearied, and persevering application, what numbers of volumes did he

publish ! In addition to these publications, perhaps he wrote a greater number of letters to the preachers, various members of the societies, and other persons, than were ever written by any man in the world.

No man could ever with greater propriety adopt the apostle's language, and say, "*Are they Apostles ? I more, in labors more abundant.*" What man ever labored so constantly, so abundantly, so unweariedly, and for so long a time, as Mr. Wesley ? This his laboriousness sprung from a true and living faith, in the being and attributes of God, the truth and divinity of the scriptures, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. This faith wrought by love, purified the heart, overcame the world, and produced inward and outward holiness. He walked worthy of the vocation wherewith he was called. A man so holy and unblameable, so laborious in the best of employments, and influenced by the purest, noblest motives, some might have supposed, would have glided through the world with honor, and that the world in general would have applauded and blessed him. But he found it necessary to remember the words of our Saviour, "Blessed are ye, when men revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil of you falsely, for my name's sake." A truly eminent man has a double character being highly applauded by some, and grievously slandered by others. If universal approbation and applause had been to be secured by wisdom, by holiness, or any thing that is lovely, or of good report, surely Jesus Christ and his apostles, would have secured it. But this we know was not the case. They went through evil report as well as good report, through dishonour as well as honour. And in this respect did Mr. Wesley drink largely of the cup which they drank of. Nay, it is remarkable, that he was reproached especially by the clergy, from the least even unto the greatest, from the needy curate, and half fledged youth, up to "doctor's grave, and prelates of threescore." Many of those said all manner of evil of him falsely. It is not difficult to accuse ; but in point of proof, accusers are often found wanting. This was most remarkably the case with regard to the accusers of Mr. Wesley.

The only crime his accusers ever *proved*, was, "That he *labored more*, and was *more beloved.*" But, we have before seen, in the brief account of the persecutions of the Methodists, that Mr. Wesley did not merely suffer reproach, but opposition in every pos-

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sible form, and frequently from tumultuous mobs, when rude fellows, men of the baser sort, sons of Belial, opposed and velified the right ways of the Lord. From these he was in perils in country towns and villages, and in the great and populous cities. It was not enough that frequently he had no temple but the wide cretion, no pulpit but a wall, a table or a stone: no sounding board, but the canopy of Heaven; but mistaken mortals, for whose sake he had suffered the loss of all things, and for whose salvation he had consented to be vile in the eyes of the world, were often exceedingly mad against him, and would cry out, "Away with him, away with such a fellow from the earth." Yet none of these things moved him, neither counted he his life dear unto himself, so he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus. He was patient in doing well, and bearing ill; in all these things he was more than conqueror; and like the Captain of his salvation, was made perfect through suffering. But what was it which supported and cheered him under all these things? Why, the clear view he had of the vast importance of spiritual and eternal things; the great worth of an immortal soul; the joys of heaven, and the beauty of holiness. A full conviction that he was in the way of his duty; the approving testimony of his own conscience the success with which the Lord crowned his labours; and the good hope, through grace, which he had of an abundant and everlasting kingdom of our God and Saviour. Many have represented him as a man of slender capacity; but certainly with great injustice. His writings, and his controversial writings more especially will fully prove the contrary. To this may be added the office he filled with such distinction at Oxford, and the great abilities which he displayed in the government of his preachers and people. As a writer, he possessed talents both from nature and education. What he was as a preacher, may be gathered from the nine volumes of his sermons, which are in so many hands.

His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy; his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive; his voice was not loud, but clear, agreeable and masculine; and his style was neat, perspicuous and pleasing.

When he had time to make proper preparations for the pulpit, he

was admirable; when his numerous employments, and great fatigues in travelling, prevented this, he was sometime not so excellent. Yet when fatigue of body, peculiar exercises of mind, or want of time for premeditation, caused him to fall short of his general excellence, the observation of Dr. Beattie, of Aberdeen, who heard him on one such occasion, was generally verified, "It was not a *masterly sermon*, yet none but a master could have preached it."

The figure of Mr. Wesley was remarkable. In person, he was rather below the middle size, but remarkably well proportioned. He had a good constitution, and seemed not to have the smallest quantity of superfluous flesh. In every period of his life, his habit of body was the reverse of corpulent, and was expressive of the strictest temperance and constant exercise. He was muscular and strong till a very few years before his death; had a firm step, and was a remarkably good walker. His face was remarkably fine, even to old age, and the freshness of his complexion continued to the last week of his life: his whole countenance was remarkably expressive; few saw him without being struck with his appearance; and numbers, who had been greatly prejudiced against him, have conceived sentiments of esteem and veneration for him, as soon as they have been introduced into his presence. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest that ever was seen: he had a clear smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, and an eye as bright and piercing as can be imagined. In his countenance and behaviour, there was an admirable mixture of cheerfulness and gravity.

In dress, he was a pattern of plainness and neatness. His coat was without a cape, and with a small upright collar; he wore a narrow plated stock about his neck, and no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel. And not only in his person and dress, but in every thing he was a model of neatness. In his chamber and study, during the winter months, when he resided in London, his books, his papers, and every thing that belonged to him, were in the most perfect order. He seemed to be always at home; and yet was always ready to start upon the longest journey.

In private he was cheerful and communicative; his conversation was pleasing, and frequently very instructive. He had been much

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accustomed to society; knew how to behave to different descriptions of people, and possessed and practised true politeness. He spoke a good deal in company in general; and the knowledge he had acquired by reading, travelling and observation, he liberally communicated, and that in the most pleasing and attracting manner. The late celebrated Dr. Johnson was personally acquainted with him, and his judgment of Mr. Wesley's manner of conversation is left on record; he said, "Mr. Wesley's conversation is good; he talks well on any subject; I could converse with him all night."

The following letter will give the world a just notion of the high opinion which Dr. Johnson had of this extraordinary man.

"SIR,

"When I received your Commentary on the Bible, I durst not, at first, flatter myself that I was to keep it, having so little claim to so valuable a present; and when Mrs. Hall informed me of your kindness, was hindered from time to time from returning you those thanks which I now entreat you to accept.

"I have thanks likewise to return for the addition of your important suffrage to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours may justly confirm me in my own opinion. What effect my paper has had upon the public I know not; but I have now no reason to be discouraged. The lecturer was surely in the right, who, though he saw his audience slinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato stayed.

"I am,

"Reverend Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"SAM. JOHNSON."

Feb. 6. 1776.

He joined in all conversation that was unblamable, and his cheerfulness was remarkable and continued to the end of his life. He generally concluded the conversation with two or three verses of a hymn, illustrating the subject of discourse.

His natural temper was warm and vehement. Religion had done much in correcting this, yet it was still visible. Persecution from without he bore without wrath, and, apparently, almost without feeling. But when he was opposed by his preachers or people, his displeasure was visible. But never did the sun go down upon his wrath, nor did he in this respect give place to the devil; generally it was over-

almost in a moment: he was easily pacified, and ready to forgive injuries and affronts. It has been said of him, that

“He carried anger as the flint bears fire;
Which, much enforced, shows a hasty spark,
And straight is cold again.”

Of this imperfection, however, he was very sensible, and very readily acknowledged it, and sometimes asked forgiveness in such a spirit of genuine humility, as greatly affected those who witnessed it.

His liberality to the poor knew no bounds, but want of ability to help them more abundantly; after barely providing for his own wants, he devoted all the rest to the necessities of others. In mercy to the bodies of men, the philanthropic Mr Howard came the nearest to him of any of our day. Mr. Howard was the friend, acquaintance, and admirer of Mr. Wesley. And he was stimulated to a more vigorous prosecution of his own benevolent plan, by observing in the case of Mr. Wesley, what a single man might do by zeal and perseverance. To relieve and help the poor, was with him a luxury of life. He considered them as if they existed, that the followers of Christ might have an opportunity of showing, what benevolence they would show to the Divine Master had he been now upon earth.

Mr. Wesley, from the profits of his publications, &c. might have accumulated a large fortune; but he laid up his treasure not on earth, but in heaven. Whatever he received, and from whatever source, only went *through* his hands but did not remain *in* them. In the numerous chapels which were built for himself and his helpers to preach in, he neither secured nor claimed the least personal property: and when he displayed a zealous concern that these should be properly settled, it was not on account of any personal advantage, but that it should not be in the power of a few changeable, capricious individuals, to alienate these buildings from the purpose for which they were built.

When he felt the infirmities of extreme old age still increasing upon him, he would not omit any of his former duties, or exercises, but kept on till he dropt in the harness. His prayer continually was, “Lord,

(*) Mr. Southey observes, that Mr. Wesley was incapable of resentment: which, when compared with this account, does the highest honor to his virtue

let me not live useless." And at every place, after he had given the society what he had desired them to consider his last advice, *To love my brethren, to fear God, and honor the King*; he constantly gave out, and sung with the people,

"O that without a lingering groan,
I may the welcome word receive;
My body with my charge lay down.
And cease at once to work and live"

His prayer was granted: and he departed this life in the joyful hope of a better.

The expiring patriarch Joseph said, "I die, but God *shall be* with you:" and Mr. Wesley's last words were, "The best of all is, God with us." Which words are now the motto upon the official seal of the Conference.

A man of more extraordinary character than Mr. Wesley probably ever lived upon this earth. He was a person of sincere, unaffected, and exemplary piety. And for more than fifty years successively, his great and various labors were most astonishing. His travels, his studies, and his ministerial labors, were each of them, when taken separately, more than sufficient for any ordinary man. Few men could have endured to travel so much as he did, without either preaching, writing or reading. Few could have endured to preach as often as he did, supposing they had neither travelled nor written books. And very few men could have written and published so many books as he did, though they had always avoided both preaching and travelling.

That which I think peculiarly characteristic of him, was his freedom from extremes, and his every excellence having its proper bounds.—Hence,

1. He was neither a Pharisee nor an Antinomian; but his personal religion, and his religious system, were both evangelical and moral.
2. He was neither a latitudinarian nor a bigot. His own principles were fixed; and yet he was candid and liberal towards men whose sentiments were different from his.
3. There was in him an admirable mixture of the wisdom of the serpent, and harmlessness of the dove.
4. He possessed, practised, and propagated, a religion that was neither formal nor superstitious, but both spiritual and rational.

5. Some persons are meek, but not courageous; others are courageous, but deficient in meekness; but he was both courageous and meek; and it is hard to say which of these virtues he most excelled in.

6. Some people's gravity sinks into dullness, while the vivacity of others degenerates into levity; but he was cheerful without being light, and grave without being sad.

7. His zeal was tempered with moderation, while his moderation was inspired with zeal. He was always employed, yea, always abounding in the work of the Lord, yet so managed himself and his work, as that he was still able to do to-morrow as he had done to-day, and this with very little variation for more than half a century.

In point of great, extensive, and long-continued usefulness, I believe no history furnishes a character equal to that of Mr. Wesley. And were it necessary, the truth of this testimony would be attested by thousands, and tens of thousands, from among the miners in Cornwall, the colliers about Kingswood and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other reformed and regenerated sinners, in almost every city, town, and village in the United Kingdom. Many have done excellently, but he excelled them all. And he laid such a foundation for the continuation of the work, that it is already more than doubled.

CHAPTER IX.

Miscellaneous accounts of Methodism to the year 18.

July 26, 1791, the forty-eighth conference assembled at Manchester, according to the appointment of the last conference.—More than two hundred preachers were present: and every one seemed sensible of the loss the connection had sustained. Mr. William Thompson was chosen president, and Dr. Coke secretary.

The sticklers for what is called the Old Plan, having printed and circulated their opinions and wishes, and vehemently urging a conformity to them, naturally provoked replies from those in different places, who wished to see something more conformable to their ideas of Christian liberty. Thus a dispute was created which continued for several years to convulse the societies, and to perplex and distress the preachers. To supply the want of Mr. Wesley's general superintendence, the plan of districts was adopted, making a number of circuits to com-

pose a district; there being mostly not less than three, nor more than eight circuits in a district; in general there were five. England was divided into seventeen districts, Ireland into five, Scotland into two, and Wales formed but one. The Lord was better to us than our fears, and almost exceeded what we had ventured to hope. We broke up in peace and harmony, with cheering prospects, and thankful hearts.

On the 31 of July, 1792, our forty-ninth conference began in London: Mr. Alexander Mather, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. Several circumstances contributed to make this an uncomfortable conference. One was, the dispute with Dr. Whitehead, about writing the life of Mr. Wesley. After much of what was very unpleasant, the business ended in the publication of two separate lives of Mr. Wesley, one by Dr. Whitehead, and the other by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore.

At this time there was much uneasiness in the connection, occasioned by contentions about the propriety or impropriety of having the service in church-hours, and the Lord's Supper administered among us in some places. Touching this last particular, the conference was much embarrassed. It was at last agreed to decide the matter by lot: and this decided, *that the Lord's Supper should not be administered in the societies for that year*. This was made known to the people by an address, and was the first instance of the conference addressing the people. This has been done repeatedly since, and sometimes with good success.

The rules of the preachers' fund were considered, enlarged, and somewhat altered; meantime the annual subscription of each preacher to the fund was raised from half a guinea to a guinea.

Our fiftieth conference met in Leeds, and began business July 29, 1793: Mr. John Pawson, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. This conference came to the determination, that the societies should have the Lord's Supper where they unanimously desired it.

July 28, 1794, and some following days, the fifty-first conference was held in Bristol: Mr. Thomas Hanby, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary.

Several things caused this to be an unpleasant conference. Trustees from many of the principal societies assembled in Bristol, at the same time as the conference. Their addresses, and the negotiations.

we thought proper to enter into with them, were productive of many difficulties.

During the ensuing year, the connection was generally and greatly convulsed. The chief part of these agitations sprung, either immediately or remotely, from the following circumstance. The trustees of the Old Room, and of Guinea-street chapel, in Bristol, were exceedingly averse to any deviation from what was termed *The Old Plan*. The Lord's Supper, and service in church hours, had been recently introduced, in a new place called Portland chapel, in the suburbs of the city. And one of the preachers appointed for that circuit, being friendly to this alledged innovation, the trustees before-mentioned resolved upon strong measures. Accordingly, they employed an attorney to write to him, charging him *at his peril, not to trespass on their premises, as they had not appointed him to preach therein*, and because *no other person had any authority so to do*. This, if submitted to, would have created a precedent, which might have subjected many other preachers to a similar discharge from different pulpits, by the authority of a few hostile men, without a trial, or even an accusation, and contrary to the judgement and wishes of the chief part of the people, both in the town and circuit, and was the case in this instance. This measure occasioned a great struggle, in which the chief part of the whole connexion, in some measure, partook. But the cause of the trustees was indefensible, though some attempted to defend them, and a majority of both preachers and people declared against them. This discomfitted and confounded the party, and prevented worse consequences which would have followed, and that upon a general scale.

July 27, 1795 the fifty second conference began at Manchester: Mr. Joseph Bradford, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. The first day was employed in fasting and prayer, that the Almighty would enable us to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Nor did we ask in vain. The next morning it was agreed, to choose by ballot a committee of nine preachers, to form a plan of pacification, in order to put an end to the present disputes, and prevent the like in future. This plan was accepted by the conference, with some modifications, and was agreed to also by a large majority of the trustees who were assembled at the same time and place from various parts of the connexion.

1796. On July 26, this year, the fifty-third conference commenced its sittings in London: Mr. Thomas Taylor president, and Dr. Coke secretary.

The most noble act of this conference was the expulsion of Alexander Kilham, for divers things which he had lately published in a pamphlet, called "The Progress of Liberty," and others of the like nature and tendency. In many respects his conduct in these publications was unjustifiable. Afterwards in the pulpits of dissenters, where he gained admission, and from the press, he endeavoured to justify his conduct, and to bring the preachers into contempt with the Methodists, and with all men. But his race was soon run, for December 20. 1798, he died of a short illness, occasioned by a bone sticking in his throat. Prior to this, however, he had effected great divisions in various parts of our connexion.

July 31, 1797, the fifty-fourth conference began its sittings in Leeds; Dr. Coke, president, and Mr. Samuel Bradburn, secretary.—During the year preceding, great preparations had been made for a considerable division of the societies, especially in the Leeds, Sheffield, Stockport, Manchester, Huddersfield, and Nottingham circuits. About five thousand become a separate party. For fear of a larger division, the conference agreed to make considerable sacrifices, the preachers resigning considerable portions of powers respecting temporal matters, division of circuits, receiving and excluding members, the appointment and removal of leaders, stewards and local preachers. It is doubtful whether the concessions made were not something larger than will be for the general good, and more than scripture and reason will justify.

July 30, 1798, the fifty-fifth conference began in Bristol: Mr. Joseph Benson, president, and Mr. Samuel Bradburn, secretary.—Very little that was either new or extraordinary occurred at this conference.

During the preceding year, the Methodists in Ireland had been greatly distressed by the savage rebellion in that country. Their address to the English conference said, "Loss of trade, breach of confidence, fear of assassination, towns burnt, countries laid waste, houses for miles without an inhabitant, the air tainted with the stench of thousands of putrid carcases, form some outlines of the melancholy picture of our times." Many of our people, and some of the preachers, were

exposed to considerable sufferings. The English conference so sympathized with their Irish brethren, that they agreed the wants of Ireland should be supplied before those of England.

July 29, 1799, the fifty-sixth conference opened at Manchester: Mr. Samuel Bradburn, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary.—It was a conference of great peace. We were, however, greatly embarrassed for want of money to meet the deficiencies and distresses of many brethren. And there was no resource but the making an extraordinary collection in the different circuits.

Let us again survey the state of the connexion in respect to the number of circuits, preachers and members:

	Circuits.	Preachers.	Members.
In England, - - - -	107	288	84,429
In Ireland, - - - -	34	83	16,227
In Scotland, - - - -	6	16	1,117
In Wales, - - - -	5	11	1,105
In the Isle of Man, - - -	1	4	4,100
In the Norman Isles, - - -	1	7	734
In the West Indies, - - -	13	23	11,170
In the British Dominions in America, -	13	8	1,610
Total,	251	540	13,582

July 28, 1800, the fifty-seventh conference began in London: Mr. James Wood, president, and Mr. Bradburn secretary. This conference recommended to the quarterly meetings, where it was not already done, to raise the preacher's quarterly allowance to four pounds. And it was also remarkable for a Loyal Address to the King, which the London Gazette, of August 8, 1800, said, "His Majesty was pleased to receive most graciously."

July 27, 1801, the fifty-eighth conference began in Leeds: Mr. John Pawson, president, being the second time he was chosen to this office and Dr. Coke, secretary.

At this conference, it was determined that a general public collection should be made for the missions, which had chiefly till now been supported by private subscriptions. And it was now agreed also, that all or ordinary deficiencies should be paid at the district meetings.

The conference broke up above seventeen hundred pounds in debt, after having drawn a large sum from the Book-room, owing to the large demands made upon it by the poorer circuits.

1802. The fifty-ninth conference sat July 26, in Bristol. A few cases of impropriety had been pointed out, which induced the conference to make the following resolutions :

1. We exhort the preachers' wives to dress as becometh those who profess to walk with God ; and we direct their husbands to use all the influence of love and piety in this behalf
2. We insist upon it, that the preachers set the best example in dress and every thing.
3. We recommend our people to kneel at prayer.
4. To stand while singing.
5. Let preacher's wives and children attend the preaching at every opportunity.

This conference determined also, that preachers proposed to travel, should be examined before their brethren at the district meetings, and passed many useful and necessary regulations in respect to the West India Missionaries.

At this conference Mr. Joseph Taylor was the president, and Dr. Coke was the secretary.

July 25, 1803, the sixtieth annual conference began in Manchester: Mr. Joseph Bradford, president, (this being the second time of his election to that office,) and Dr. Coke, secretary. This conference declared very strongly against exorters or local preachers getting licences to escape parish offices, or being ballotted to serve in the militia. See the general rules.

July 30, 1804, the sixty-first conference began in London: Mr. Henry Moore president, and Dr. Coke secretary. This year a committee was appointed to manage the missions, whereas formerly they had been chiefly managed by Dr. Coke : and the Doctor was appointed General Superintendant of all our missions. This conference convinced that individuals petitioning for preachers had a direct tendency to destroy, by degrees, the itinerant plan, resolved that no petition be attended to, but what comes from a regular quarterly meeting.

July 29, 1805, the sixty-second conference began at Sheffield, being the first ever held in this town; Dr. Coke, president, and Mr. Joseph Benson, secretary.—This was a notable conference, and made some excellent rules, and some of an inferior nature. It was agreed, that the district committees should not meddle with stationing the preachers; that no letters concerning stations should be regarded, except what came from a majority at a regular quarterly meeting; and that letters coming from committees should have no more attention paid to them than those coming from individuals; but that letters from the quarterly meetings, should be read in the stationing committee, and then in the conference.

This conference commiserated poor preachers with families, stationed in poor circuits, and recommended all the circuits to give them a regular weekly board. This conference concluded above £800 in debt.

July 28, 1806, the sixty-third annual conference began in Leeds: Mr. Adam Clarke, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. The most notable transaction of this conference was the expulsion of Mr. Joseph Cook. He had been accused at the conference preceding this, of holding and preaching unsound doctrines, particularly respecting the nature of faith, and the witness of the Spirit. A year was allowed him to reconsider the matter, and then to give in his sentiments: in the mean time he was requested to keep his peculiar notions to himself, which he promised to do. But in a few months after, he published two sermons on these subjects. Many still wished to save him; but he was so obstinate, that without great inconsistency and impropriety, the conference could not continue to employ him. He settled in Rochdale, and soon finished his course, dying in March, 1811.

July 27, 1807, the sixty-fourth conference began in Liverpool, which was the first time of a conference being held there, Mr. John Barber, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. Some important rules were passed, admirably calculated to preserve a purity of doctrine and morals in the connexion, among which is the following. "No person shall, on any account, be permitted to retain any official situation in our societies, who hold opinions contrary to the total depravity of human nature, the divinity and atonement of Christ, the influence and witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian holiness, as believed by the Methodists."

It was expected that we should have seriously and maturely considered some previous discussions of the different district meetings on the subject of a plan for educating the young preachers; and also respecting articles of faith, or a summary of our doctrines, which it was proposed to prepare and publish. But for these things we found no time.

This conference wisely enforced a former rule, "That no charge brought by one preacher against another in the same district, shall be heard in the conference, unless previously explained at the district meeting, if the matter alledged in such charge was then in existence; and that all charges shall be previously announced, personally, or in writing, to the brother against whom they are directed."

It was agreed at this conference, also, that a collection should be made in all our congregations for the support of that excellent institution, *The British and Foreign Bible Society*, which was done accordingly, and amounted to about £1,300.

July 25, 1808, the sixty-fifth conference commenced its labors in Bristol, Mr. James Wood, president, and Dr. Coke, secretary. This conference was a very laborious one to those who took the most active part in its business. We sat close; we were about two hundred and fifty preachers; and some part of the time the weather was extremely hot. But a conference more free from all undue influence and party-spirit, where more impartiality, free discussion, good temper, and general satisfaction prevailed, we never had.

On Monday, July 31, 1809, our sixty-sixth conference began in Manchester, and continued till Thursday, August 17. We had many things which called for thankfulness: but upon the whole it was rather a trying, as well as tedious conference. Mr. Thomas Taylor was the president, and Mr. Joseph Benson the secretary.

The state of our finances at this time was truly alarming, as we found a deficiency in the contingent fund of £3,019 1s. 6d. This gave occasion to the conference to resolve, that no larger sum than *thirty pounds* shall ever be allowed for furniture to any one house; that the yearly subscription, after being made as usual in the classes, shall be mentioned in our principal congregations, that such of our hearers as are not in society, and wish to be *fellow-helpers to the truth*, may have an opportunity; and that before the deficiencies brought from any cir-

cuit be paid at the district meeting, inquiry shall be made whether such circuit has complied with our rules respecting contributions, by raising *on the average*, one penny per week, and one shilling per quarter for each member. If it appear that the rules have not been complied with, the payment of the deficiencies must be suspended, and the case submitted to the decision of the conference.

It was agreed also, that the district meetings shall present a plan to the conference for stationing the children, to enable the conference to determine what number shall be supported by each circuit. But, though this plan has repeatedly been agreed upon, the execution of it is still delayed.

To prevent any local preacher from getting licensed with a view to escape parish-officers and the militia, the conference determined, that any person who applies for a license, without the previous knowledge and consent of the superintendent and his colleagues, and of the local preachers, or quarterly meeting of the circuit in which he resides, shall not be suffered to preach among us.

The conference also strongly recommended to all Methodist families, to set apart some time every Lord's day for catechising and instructing their children.

It will not be foreign to the subject under consideration, to mention the following affair. It is well known to many, that when Mr. Kilham and his party separated from the connexion, they took possession of several of our chapels, though they were settled upon the *conference plan*. After enduring this outrageous wrong for some years, it was determined to make an appeal to the court of Chancery, selecting the case of Brighthouse chapel, near Halifax, principally with a view to try the general question. On the 5th day of March, 1810, the cause was heard and determined before the Master of the Rolls. It was decreed, "That, as what was now called in the pleadings, for the sake of distinction, The old conference was the only conference which existed at the time of the execution of the trust-deed, and for many years afterward, it must be determined to be that conference only which was referred to in the deed. And as the trustees had not reserved, by any clause in the deed, power of making new regulations, by any decision of a majority of themselves, they must be compelled to execute the

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trust according to the laws and regulations of that conference, for the use of which they held the trust-estate, and admit those preachers only who were sent by the old conference." This decision is of the more importance, as there are several other chapels in the same circumstances.

A copy of the minutes of the decree made by the Master of the Rolls

Monday, March 15, 1810.

ATTORNEY GENERAL *ver.* PRATT.

"Declare that the indenture, bearing date July 5, 1795, in the pleadings stated ought to be established, and the trusts thereof performed and carried into execution; and that the chapel in the pleadings mentioned, and the affairs thereof ought to be regulated under, and by virtue of the terms of the before-mentioned indenture; and let the defendants, Joseph Pratt, James Avison, John Sowden, and John Booth, permit and suffer the person or persons as shall be nominated and appointed by the yearly conference, mentioned and referred to in the said deed, and under the pleadings called the Old Conference, to enter into, and upon, have, use, and enjoy the said chapel for the several purposes in the said indenture of the 5 day of July, 1795, particularly mentioned; and refer it to the Master to take an account of the rents of the several pews, seats, and other profits of the said chapel, and the premises in the said indenture mentioned, come to the hands of the said defendants, Joseph Pratt, James Avison, John Sowden, and John Booth, and of the application thereof. In the taking of which account the said Master is to make unto the parties such allowance for what has been already paid to the officiating minister, for the duty done in the said chapel: and the said Master is to enquire and state to the court what monies have been laid out and advanced by the plaintiff, John Sharp, for the building of the three messuages in the pleadings mentioned, and of the interest accrued due thereon, and under what agreement such monies were so laid out; and for the better taking of the said accounts, and discovery of the matters aforesaid, the parties are to produce before the said Master upon oath, all books, papers, and writings in their custody, or power, relating thereto, and are to be examined upon interrogatories, as the said Master shall direct, who in taking of the said accounts, is to make unto the parties all just allowan-

ees, and reserve the consideration of the costs of this suit, and of all further directions, until after the Master shall have made his report, and any of the parties are to be at liberty to apply to this court, as there shall be occasion."

The comparative increase of the members of the societies, and that of the itinerant preachers, during the last thirty-nine years :

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Preachers.</i>	<i>Members.</i>
1770	120	29,406
1780	171	44,830
1790	291	71,568
1799	400	107,752

N. B. 159,500 of these members are in the United States of America ; the rest in Great-Britain, and other parts of the British dominions. Note also, that the itinerant preachers in the United States of America are not numbered. These, I presume, will amount at least to 600. What hath God wrought !

In the year 1810, there was an increase in the societies in Great-Britain and Ireland, and also in America, of near 20,000 in the whole.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE FIRST, AND
SOME OF THE MOST EMINENT PREACHERS IN CONNECTION WITH
MR. WESLEY

CHAPTER I.

A short account of the REV. JOHN FLETCHER.

The character of the Rev. Mr. Fletcher has been given by Mr. Wesley, in a book written soon after his death. Afterwards, Mr. Gilpin wrote some notes on his character. And lately, Mr. Benson has compiled a life of him from all that had been published before, with much additional matter. He was, indeed, a most extraordinary man ; a Christian *like him* the world has seldom seen ; and a preacher, and especially a writer, whose transcendent excellencies my pen cannot fully describe. He was born at Nyon, in Switzerland, September 12, 1729, of an ancient and honorable family. He was ordained for the Christian ministry in 1757 ; was made vicar of Madely, in Shropshire

in the year 1760; and died there, August 14, 1785, where his name will be had in everlasting remembrance.

At the conclusion of his account of this very eminent man, Mr. Wesley says, "I was intimately acquainted with him for thirty years. I conversed with him morning, noon, and night, without the least reserve, during a journey of many hundred miles: and in all that time I never heard him speak an improper word, or saw him do an improper action. Within fourscore years I have known many excellent men, holy in heart and life; but one equal to him I have not known. One so universally devoted to God, so unblameable a man in every respect I have not found in either Europe or America. Nor do I expect to find such another on this side of eternity."

His death was suitable to his life. The Rev. Mr. Gilpin, vicar of Wrockwasdine, a few miles from Madely, gives some very interesting particulars respecting his dissolution, in the biographical notes which he has added to Mr. Fletcher's "Portrait of St. Paul." "Equally prepared for every event, he met his last great trial with all that composure and steadiness which had invariably distinguished him upon every former occasion of suffering. He entered the valley of the shadow of death as one who feared no evil. He considered it as the high road to that incorruptible inheritance which is reserved for the saints: and looking forward with a hope full of immortality, he saw beyond its limited gloom, those everlasting hills of delight and glory, to which his soul aspired."

"A few days before his dissolution, he appeared to have reached that desirable point, where the last rapturous discoveries are made to the souls of dying saints. Roused, as it were, with the shouts of angels, and kindled into rapture with visions of glory, he broke into a song of holy triumph, which began and ended with the praises of God's unfathomable love. He labored to declare the secret manifestations he enjoyed, but his sensations were too powerful for utterance; and after looking inexpressible things he contented himself with calling upon all around him, to celebrate and shout out that *adorable love*, which can never be fully comprehended, or adequately expressed.

"This triumphant frame of mind was not a transient feeling, but a state that he continued to enjoy, with little or no discernable intermis-

sion to the moment of his death. While he possessed the power of speech, he spake as one whose lips had been touched with *a live coal from the altar*; and when deprived of that power, his countenance discovered that he was sweetly engaged in the contemplation of eternal things.

“On the day of his departure, as I was preparing to attend my own church, which was at the distance of about nine miles from Madely, I received a hasty message from Mrs. Fletcher, requesting my attendance at the vicarage. I instantly followed the messenger, and found Mr. Fletcher with every symptom of approaching dissolution upon him. I had ever looked up to this man of God with an extraordinary degree of affection and reverence; and on this afflicting occasion, my heart was uncommonly afflicted and depressed. It was now in vain to recollect that public duty required my presence in another place: unfit for every duty, except that of watching the bed of death, I found it impossible to withdraw myself from the solemn scene to which I had been summoned. I had received from this evangelical teacher, in days that were past, many excellent precepts with respect to *holy living*; and now I desired to receive from him the last important lesson with respect to *holy dying*. And truly this concluding lesson was of inestimable worth; since so much patience and resignation, so much peace and composure, were scarcely ever discovered in the same circumstances before. *Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his.*

“While their pastor was breathing out his soul into the hands of a *faithful Creator*, his people were offering up their joint supplications on his behalf in the house of God. Little, however, was seen among them on this trying occasion, but affliction and tears. Indeed it was a day much to be remembered, for the many affecting testimonies which appeared on every side. The whole village wore an air of consternation and sadness: and not one joyful song was heard among all its inhabitants. Hasty messengers were passing to and fro, with anxious inquiries and confused reports. And the members of every family sat together in silence that day, awaiting with trembling expectation the issue of every hour.

“After the conclusion of the evening service, several of the poor,

who came from distant parts, and who were usually entertained under Mr. Fletcher's roof, still lingered about the house, and seemed unable to bear themselves away from the place, without a sight of their expiring pastor. Secretly informed of their desire, I obtained for them the permission they wished. And the door of the chamber being set open, immediately before which Mr Fletcher was sitting upright in his bed, with the curtains undrawn, unaltered in his usual venerable appearance; they slowly moved, one by one, along the gallery, severally pausing as they passed by the door, and casting in a look of mingled supplication and anguish. It was an affecting sight to behold these unfeigned mourners successively presenting themselves before the bed of their dying benefactor, with an expressible eagerness in their looks; and then dragging themselves away from his presence, with a distressing consciousness *that they should see his face no more.*

"And now the hour speedily approached that was to put a solemn termination to our hopes and fears. His weakness very perceptibly increased, but his countenance continued unaltered to the last. If there was any visible change in his feelings he appeared to be more at ease, and more sweetly composed, as the moment of his dismissal drew near. Our eyes were rivetted upon him in awful expectation. But whatever we had felt before, no murmuring thought was suffered, at this interesting period, to darken the glories of so illustrious a scene.—All was silence—when the last angelic messenger suddenly arrived, and performed his important commission, with so much stillness and secrecy, that it was impossible to determine the exact moment of its completion. Mrs Fletcher was kneeling by the side of her departing husband; one who attended him with uncommon assiduity during the last stages of his disorder, sat at his head; while I sorrowfully waited near his feet. Uncertain whether or not he was totally separated from us, we pressed nearer, and hung over his bed in the attitude of listening attention: his lips ceased to move, and his head was gently sinking on his bosom—we stretched out our hands, but his warfare was accomplished, and the happy spirit had taken its everlasting flight."

In the same biographical notes, Mr. Gilpin has favored the world with some very striking characteristic traits of Mr. Fletcher. He informs us that he passed the earlier part of his life at Nyon, accompanied

with an unusual degree of vivacity. After having made a good proficiency in school learning, he was sent to Geneva, where he was distinguished equally by his superior abilities and uncommon application. The two first prizes for which he stood candidate, he carried away from a number of competitors, several of whom were nearly related to the professors: and on these occasions he was complimented by his superiors in a very flattering manner. During his residence at Geneva, he allowed himself but little time, either for recreation, refreshment, or rest. Here he laid the foundation of that extensive and accurate knowledge, for which he was afterwards distinguished, both in philosophical and theological researches. After quitting Geneva, he was sent by his father to Lenzbourg, a small town in the Swiss Cantons, where he not only acquired the German language, but diligently prosecuted his other studies, for which he ever discovered a passionate attachment. On his return from this place, he continued some time at home, studying the Hebrew language, and perfecting his acquaintance with mathematical learning.

His early piety was equally remarkable. From his childhood he was impressed with a deep sense of the majesty of God, and a constant fear of offending him. His acquaintance with the scriptures guarded him, on the one hand, from the snares of infidelity; and preserved him on the other from many vices peculiar to youth. His conversation was modest, and his whole conduct marked with a degree of rectitude, not usually to be found in early life. He manifested an extraordinary turn of religious meditation; and those little productions which gained him the greatest applause, at this period, were chiefly of a religious tendency. His filial obedience, and brotherly affection, were exemplary; nor is it remembered, that he ever uttered one unbecoming expression in either of those characters—And he was a constant reprover of sin.

But notwithstanding all these external appearances of piety, Mr. Fletcher remained for many years in ignorance respecting the nature of scriptural Christianity. He was naturally of a high and ambitious turn of mind, and counted much upon the dignity of human nature; and being admired by his friends, it is not to be wondered at that he should cast a look of self-complaacency upon himself. He was a stranger to

that unfeigned sorrow for sin, which is the first step towards the kingdom of God. He had resided some time in England before he became properly acquainted with himself, and the nature of true religion. In the twenty-sixth year of his age, he was so filled with self-abhorrence, as to place himself on a level with the chief of sinners. But his sorrow for sin was succeeded by a consciousness of the favour of God, and he was filled with peace and joy in believing. Having found Jesus to be a Saviour, he determined to follow him as a guide. From this period he became truly exemplary for Christian piety. He appeared to enjoy uninterrupted fellowship with the Father, and with his son Jesus Christ. Every day was with him a day of solemn self-dedication, and every hour an hour of praise and prayer.

Mr. Fletcher seemed to be familiar with *things not seen*, Heb. xi. 1. *He walked as seeing him who is invisible, and sat in heavenly places in Jesus Christ.* To those who were much conversant with him, he appeared almost as an inhabitant of a better world: the common lights of Christians were eclipsed before him; and even his religious friends, could never stand in his presence, without being overwhelmed with a consciousness of their own inferiority. While they saw him rising, as it were on the wings of an eagle, they were humbled at their inability to pursue his flight; and his frequent expressions of fervent love and gratitude to God, made them ashamed of their own lukewarmness and ingratitude. *When he went out through the city*, or took his seat in the company of the righteous, he was saluted with unusual reverence, as an angel of God. *The young men saw him and hid themselves; the aged arose and stood up.* Even those who were honored as princes among the people of God, *refrained talking, and laid their hand upon their mouth.* *When the ear heard him, then it blessed him; and when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him.* Sitting in the house, or walking by the way; in retirement, or in his public labours, he was uniformly actuated by the same spirit. In all he said and did, in all the circumstances of life, it appeared that his heart and his treasure were in heaven.

HIS EPITAPH.

Here lies the Body of
The Rev. JOHN WILLIAM de la FLECHERE;
 Vicar of Madeley,
 Who was born at Nyon, in Switzerland,
 September the 12th, 1729,
 And finished his course, August the 14th, 1785,
 In this Village;
 Where his unexampled Labors
 Will long be remembered.
 He exercised his Ministry for the space of
 Twenty-five Years,
 In this Parish,
 With uncommon Zeal and Ability.
 Many believed his Report, and became
 His Joy and Crown of Rejoicing;
 While others constrained him to take up
 The Lamentation of the Prophet,
 "All the day long have I stretched out my Hands
 Unto a disobedient and gainsaying People:
 Yet surely my Judgment is with the Lord,
 And my Work with my God."
 "He being dead yet speaketh."

The writer of this publication, spent two years at and about Madeley, commencing about twelve years after his death; and he found that his name was still as ointment poured forth. And as every thing is interesting that respects Mr. Fletcher, I shall be excused for inserting a few lines more about him, especially as what I shall write will be additional to all that has been published before. I had my information from the very best authorities.

Some of the Methodists at Coalbrook-dale told me, that their chapel was enlarged a little before Mr. Fletcher's death. The morning they began to get the stones for the enlargement, he came by the quarry just as they were beginning to work. He *would* have the honor of doing something in this business of enlarging the house of prayer. "But first," said he, "let us pray." So they all kneeled down on a rock; Mr. Fletcher prayed like himself; and then he assisted them in getting stones, till more urgent concerns called him to depart.

I was also very credibly informed, at Broseley, about three miles

from Madeley that about the time Mr. Fletcher was writing his Checks to Antinomianism, the Baptist minister of that town declared in the pulpit he would go over to Madely, to this great Arminian, and confound him by argument. He went accordingly to Mr. Fletcher's house, and told him his errand.—Mr. Fletcher did not decline the combat, but only proposed they should first have a little prayer. After prayer the argumentation commenced and proceeded; and Mr. Fletcher not only maintained his ground, but made a considerable impression on his heroic assailant. With his matchless piety, his loving and amiable spirit and temper, and the strength and clearness of his arguments, he made a breach in the wall of this Calvinian fortress. The minister returned home full of admiration, and the praises of Mr. Fletcher; and was never afterwards able so to preach as to satisfy his Calvinistic auditors, that he remained orthodox.

The following anecdote I had from the best authority, and knew the surviving branches of the family. One Sunday, after the morning service, Mr.—, a gentleman farmer, insulted Mr. Fletcher very grossly, as he came out of the Church, evincing great enmity against a faithful ministry and a genuine piety. Before Mr. Fletcher concluded his sermon in the afternoon, he told the congregation, he had a powerful impression upon his mind, that before the next Sabbath, the Lord would display a signal mark of his displeasure against the enemies of his cause and truth. The week drew almost to a conclusion, and nothing remarkable happened. But, on the Saturday evening, Mr.— returning from the market, in a state he should not have been, fell from his horse, and instantly expired upon the spot. This anecdote was kept back from publication out of tenderness for the family. But it does not appear to me that there is any sufficient reason for suppressing for ever, such a notable instance of God's displeasure against the opposers of his truth, and of Mr. Fletcher's prophetic spirit.

Since Mr. Fletcher's death, that most excellent woman his widow, has been astonishingly useful in carrying on the good work so happily begun in his days. I formed a very high idea of her piety. Her religion is human nature cured and elevated. She has strong sense

and an easy, natural, and almost irresistible method of drawing up the minds of all about her to heaven and heavenly things. She has for many years been the great counsellor and director of the parish of Madeley; and that frequently as well in temporals as in spirituals. In short, ever since Mr. Fletcher's death, she has been little less than the vicar of the parish.—She has never quitted the vicarage house, though she pays a low annual rent for it; and the vicar will, I believe, employ or dismiss any curate at her request.

CHAPTER II.

A short account of the REV. WILLIAM GRIMSHAW.

The Rev. Mr. Grimshaw, is a name well known to the religious world. This eminently good and useful man, was a clergyman of the Church of England. He was born at Brindle, near Preston, in Lancashire, in September, 1708; was ordained in 1731, but for some time afterwards was vain and trifling, the reverse of all serious godliness. At this time he was minister of Todmorden, nine miles north of Rochdale. However, in two or three years he became more thoughtful; and in 1742, he became a genuine Christian, a zealous preacher of the gospel.

In May, that same year, he became minister of Haworth, in the parish of Bradford, in Yorkshire. Haworth is one of those obscure places, which like those fishing towns on the coast of the Sea of Galilee, where our Saviour bestowed so much of his time and labor, owes most of its celebrity to the preaching of the gospel. Its name would scarcely have been known, had it not been connected with the name of the celebrated Grimshaw. The bleak and barren state of the inhabitants, who, when he went first among them, were in general very ignorant, careless and wicked, having little more sense of religion than their cattle, and were wild and uncultivated like the rocks and hills which surrounded them. But by the blessing of God upon his zealous and abundant labors, very many were awakened out of their sinful sleep, were brought to fear God, to live godly, righteous and sober lives, and were filled with peace and joy in believing His lively, striking, and impressive method of preaching, was soon much talked of, and attracted great numbers to hear him from every

part of the surrounding country, and often from a great distance. Nor was this merely during the period of novelty but continued through more than twenty successive years.

As the poor make their want of better clothes an excuse for not coming to divine service in the day-time, he established, chiefly for their sakes, a sermon on Sunday evenings, after preaching forenoon and afternoon. And he began a method in 1743, which he continued to the end of his life, of preaching in each of the four hamlets under his care, three times every month. By this, the old and the infirm, who could not attend the church, had the truth of God brought to their houses; and many who were so careless as scarce ever to go to the church, were thus allured to hear.

It was not long, before the holiness of his life, the zeal and diligence with which he instructed the people of his charge, and the great good which many from the neighboring parishes had obtained by attending his ministry, caused him to have many invitations to preach at the houses of divers persons in other parishes. And when these petitioners, like the men of Macedonia, cried, "Come over and help us," he believed it to be his duty to go. And thus, while he provided abundantly for his own flock, he annually preached near three hundred times to congregations in other parts. He formed two circuits for himself, which, with some occasional variations, he traced every week alternately. One of these, he pleasantly termed his *idle week*; because during *that* he seldom preached more than twelve or fourteen times. In his *working week*, he often preached twenty-four and sometimes thirty times. An itinerant clergyman was a strange thing: and Mr. Grimshaw was perhaps the first minister in Yorkshire, whose zeal prompted him to preach in other parishes, without obtaining consent from the ministers belonging to them.

From the year 1745, he maintained a close union with the Methodists, and acted as Mr. Wesley's assistant in some parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The parts then formed what was called *Haworth Circuit*, of which Mr. Grimshaw was considered as being the perpetual superintendent. He visited the classes quarterly, and renewed their tickets; attended quarterly meetings, and frequently preached upon these occasions, and often presided at love-feasts in the Meth-

dist societies. He attended the conference, when held at Leeds, and always preached. At that time, the conference was held at London, Bristol, and Leeds, alternately, and at no other place. His employments would not allow him to go to either of the other places: but though he was never there, he had a great name, and many friends in London. He lived in strict friendship with the Methodist preachers; they lodged at his house, and preached in his kitchen; and he regularly published in his church when the preaching would be in his house. And he was so far from envying the talents, popularity, or success of the preachers, that he greatly rejoiced in their labors. He heard even the weakest of them with great and humble attention, and many he preferred in honor to himself. One time after William Shent had been preaching in his kitchen, he fell down before him, saying, "I am not worthy to stand in your presence." And at another time, when Benjamin Beanland had been preaching in the same place, he embraced him, and said, "The Lord bless thee *Ben*, this is worth a hundred of my sermons."

Mr. Grimshaw's was a very extensive circuit, and though they travelled much on horseback, it required three or four preachers, besides him, to supply it. But he regularly supplied his own church on the Sundays. His house and church were ever open to Mr. Whitefield, or any other gospel minister, who might occasionally visit those parts; but in respect to discipline, and doctrines in general, he held the same sentiments as Mr. Wesley.

The Lord gave great success to his labors. It is true, his manner of life excited much envy, jealousy, and displeasure in many of his clerical brethren; but none of these things ever moved him, nor did he count his character, or even his life, dear unto himself, but went on, testifying the gospel of the grace of God. Nor did he meet with any serious and determined marks of disapprobation from his *superiors* in the church. But he was opposed by some who hated to be reformed. At Colne, a riotous mob, hired for the purpose, and headed by the parson, disturbed him while preaching.

Mr White's proclamation for enlisting men into the mob, raised against the Methodists, ran as follows:

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his Majesty's service, under the command of the Reverend Mr. George White, Commander in Chief, and John Bannister, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's forces, for the defence of the Church of England, and the support of the manufactory in and about Colne, both which are now in danger, let him repair to the drum-head, at the Cross where each man shall have a pint of ale for advance, and other proper encouragements.

This Mr. White was educated at Doway, in France, for orders in the Church of Rome; but upon his recantation, was noticed by Archbishop Potter, and by him recommended to the Vicar of Whally, who appointed him minister of Colne. He was not devoid of either parts or literature, but childishly ignorant of common life, and shamefully inattentive to his duty, which he frequently abandoned for weeks together to such accidental assistance as the parish could procure. On one occasion he is said to have read the funeral service more than twenty times in a single night, over the dead bodies which had been interred in his absence. With these glaring imperfections in his own character, he sought to distinguish himself by a riotous opposition to the Methodists. But, in his last illness, it is said he sent for Mr. Grimshaw to get the assistance of his instructions and prayers, being now fully convinced of the impropriety of his former conduct.

This minister also preached and published a sermon against Mr. Grimshaw and the Methodists, which gave occasion to the only publication Mr. Grimshaw ever favored the world with. It was printed in 1749, and entitled, "An answer to a sermon published against the Methodists, by the Rev. George White, M. A. Minister of Colne and Marsden, in Lancashire. By the Rev. William Grimshaw, Minister of Haworth, Yorkshire.

Mr. Miles has done a real service to the world by republishing this pamphlet, in connexion with his valuable life of Mr. Grimshaw. The pamphlet consists of eighty pages, twelves, and is a very good defence of Methodism, particularly as circumstances then stood. But it has nearly been lost to the world, for it was with difficulty, after a considerable search, that a copy of it was procured.

When Mr. Wesley or Mr. Whitefield visited Haworth, the custom was, after the prayer had been read in the church, to go through a

window upon a scaffold erected for the purpose in the church yard, and after preaching to congregations consisting of thousands, they returned into the church, and administered the Lord's supper to great numbers. This often took up a good while; and in the meantime a preacher continued preaching out of doors. These were times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, and many drew water with joy out of the wells of salvation.

It was a constant custom of Mr. Grimshaw, to attend the feasts and wakes kept in the neighboring villages, accompanied by two or three local preachers, whom he invited to assist him. And after these men had preached, one after another, he concluded the service by preaching himself. This plan produced the most happy effects. many were hereby kept from following the multitude to do evil, and from contracting debts, or wounding their consciences, while others got real and lasting good to their immortal souls.

At Haworth there are two feasts every year. It had been customary with the innkeepers, and some other inhabitants, to make a subscription for horse-races at the latter feast. These were of the lowest description, and frequented by the lowest of the people. They exhibited a scene of vulgar rioting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, wild uproar and confusion. Mr. Grimshaw had frequently attempted, but in vain, to put a stop to this mischievous custom. His remonstrances were but little regarded, and probably any other man would have been abused, in making the attempt to stop an established practice, so agreeable to the taste of vulgar depravity. They so revered his character, as to hear his expostulation with a measure of patience, but still persisted in what so much grieved him. But he gave himself unto prayer for some time before the feast, entreating God to put a stop to this evil. When the race time came the people assembled as usual, but were soon dispersed. Even before the race could begin, dark clouds covered the sky, which soon poured forth such excessive rains, that the people could not remain upon the ground; and it continued to rain excessively during the three days appointed for the races. This event, though it took place many years since, is still remembered and spoken of at Haworth. It is a common saying among the people, that "Old Grimshaw put a stop to the races by his

prayers." It proved an effectual stop: for there have been no races in that neighborhood from that time to this day.

What was brought him for dues, he took without being rigorous.— He used to tell the people, "I will not deserve your curses when I am dead, for what I have received for my poor labors among you. I want no more of you, than your souls for my God, and a bare maintenance for myself."

His whole life proved this declaration to be true. He required nothing but the plainest food and raiment: and he would frequently say, that these were more than he deserved. He hated wastefulness, and was strictly frugal, and would sometimes say, "How can those persons answer before God, for the food which they deny to poor Christians, and throw away upon their dogs!"

It was his frequent and almost constant custom to go out of the church while the psalm before the sermon, was singing, to see if he could find any idling in the church yard, the street, or in the public houses. And many of those whom he found he would drive into the church before him. A person passing by a public-house one Sunday forenoon, was surprised to see several persons making their escape, some jumping out at the lower windows and others over a wall. He was alarmed, thinking a fire had broke out in the house; but upon inquiring, found all this commotion was caused by the discovery that the *Parson* was coming. They were as much afraid of him as of a justice of the peace.

He endeavored to suppress that custom, so prevalent in country places, of walking in the fields on the Lord's day, between the services, and visited the usual haunts in order to detect and reprove those who were guilty. At some distance from Haworth there was a place to which many young people frequently resorted. One evening he disguised himself, so that they did not know *him* till he was so near them as to know who *they* were; he then spoke, charging them not to move. He took down all their names with his pencil, and ordered them to attend him at his house, on a day, and at an hour which he named.— And they all went as punctually as if they had been served with a judge's warrant. He led them into a private room, formed them into a circle, commanded them to kneel down, he knelt down in the midst

of them, and prayed for them very earnestly, and at some length.— He closed the interview by an affecting lecture. The discipline never needed to be repeated; for it is said the place has never been resorted to on a Sunday evening from that time to this.

When at home, he had a meeting for prayer and exhortation every morning, in the summer at five, and in the winter at six o'clock.— These meetings were early and short, that the people might not be kept from the duties of their calling, whether in the field or in the house. He thought that to begin the day with religious exercises, would sweeten labor, prepare for trials, and fortify against temptations. His own diligence was very great. The exertions of the most industrious man in trade, could not exceed his, in endeavoring to do good to men, and bring glory to his Maker. In every action of common life, and in his most common and familiar conversation, a savour of piety was still to be discovered. And his mind was prompt and fertile, in improving the little incidents of daily occurrence, to convey and impress spiritual and profitable lessons. Herein he resembled our Saviour, who instructed his disciples and his other hearers, by observations on birds and flowers, to which he pointed them. In the pulpit he depicted sin in such strong and frightful colors, as to make sinners tremble.

His constitution was vigorous, his health good, his spirits lively, and his zeal truly fervent. He was rather low in stature, broad-set and strong; and a good deal marked by the small pox. He could endure much labor and fatigue; and he often showed less mercy to his body, than a merciful man would do to his beast, traversing the bleak neighboring mountains in all weathers. Thus did the love of Christ constrain him to spend and be spent in the best and most important of all employments.

The fear of the Lord raised Mr. Grimshaw above that fear of man which bringeth a snare. He exhorted and rebuked with all authority, as well as with long-suffering and gentleness. He was bold and faithful in his private reproofs and admonitions as well as in his public ministrations. And he had not only an easy method of doing this, but sometimes a very peculiar one.

A man, whose benevolence he had some suspicion of, he made application to, near bed-time, disguised so as to be taken for a poor man,

and solicited the favor of a lodging for the night. He hereby proved the man to be what he suspected. Instead of granting the supposed poor man his petition, he loaded him with abuse.

In his discourses, he generally made use of very plain language, and sometimes language that was homely and familiar. I will give a few specimens.

Upon one occasion he exhorted the people to be thankful for the many mercies they had received at the hand of the Lord, saying, "Some of you can sit down to your table, and eat and drink, and never once think of God, so as either to ask a blessing upon your food, or to return thanks. You are worse than the very swine; for the pigs will *grunt* over their victuals; but you will say nothing." And when he was praying, after thus speaking to the congregation he said, "Lord dismiss us with thy blessing: take all these people under thy care, bring them in safety to their own houses, and give them their suppers when they get home; but let them not eat a morsel till they have said grace; then let them eat and be satisfied, and return thanks to thee when they have done. Let them kneel down and say their prayers before they go to bed: let them do this for once, at any rate, and then thou wilt preserve them till the morning." Once when he preached from the 48th Psalm, verse the 14, and telling his hearers among other things, how the Lord would bless them who had him for thier God, he said, "They who have this God for theirs, shall never want a pound of butter, or a pint of blue milk, so long as they live."

In giving some advice to Mr. Paul Greenwood, and Mr. Thomas Mitchell, two young preachers, he said,—If you are sent of God to preach the gospel, all hell will be up in arms against you. Prepare for the battle, and stand fast in the good ways of God. You must not expect to gain much of this world's goods by preaching the gospel.—What you get must come through the devil's teeth; and he will hold it as fast as he can. I count every covetous man to be one of the devil's teeth; and he will let nothing go for God and his cause, but what is forced from him." As he was favored with a liberal education, at the grammar-schools of Blackburn and Heskin, and afterwards at Christ's College, in Cambridge, it could not be from want of learning that he used occasionally his plain, familiar style, or as it is sometimes

termed, *market language*. He knew the ignorance of the people, and studied to speak to them as they would best understand his meaning.

Unwearied laboriousness; deep, yet cheerful piety; a plain, familiar style, which he made use of in order to be better understood by an auditory, in general unlearned and ignorant; accompanied by almost unequalled usefulness, form the chief features of his character.

As a polemic writer, Mr. Fletcher was superior to Mr. Grimshaw. But in *extensive* and *abundant* usefulness, as a preacher, Mr. Grimshaw was greatly superior to Mr. Fletcher. And yet, Mr. Fletcher was not only an able, but a very useful preacher; and God crowned his labors with great success.

In a spiritual, as well as natural sense, there are soils comparatively barren as well as fruitful. And I think it but just to observe, that Mr. Grimshaw laboured in the more fruitful, and Mr. Fletcher in the more barren field.

He was a lover of hospitality, and in the summer season had many visitants. Sometimes the house was full. He would give beds to as many as he could, and then, unknown to his guests, would sleep in the hay-loft himself. Early one morning, one of these occasional lodgers, was not a little surprized to find Mr. Grimshaw cleaning the boots of his friends, whom he supposed were still asleep.

He was a lover of mankind, and a follower of him whose tender mercies are over all his works, and who is good to the thankful, and to the unthankful. He tenderly sympathized with the poor and afflicted.

He never sought either patronage or preferment. He was of a catholic and candid spirit. If good was done, he cared not who might be the instrument. His bowels yearned over careless sinners. He beheld them, yea, even the most profligate, with grief and compassion. He embraced every favorable opportunity of speaking a useful and seasonable word to any person he might fall in with on the road. And in some, the good seed, though sown on the highway, took root and brought forth good fruit.

It was his custom to go from house to house, warning, teaching, and exhorting the people respecting their soul's salvation. He was very punctual in fulfilling his appointments. He was sure to be at the place where he was expected; and exactly at the time.

His usual hour of rising was at four o'clock in the summer, and five in winter. In his family in the morning, before prayer, he read the psalms and lessons appointed for the day. In summer he went to bed about ten o'clock, and in winter about eleven.

Few men ever thought or spoke more meanly of themselves than he did. Nor could he bear to hear others speak well of him. He was a hearty friend to the established church, and firmly attached to the constitution and government of his country. He feared God, and honored the king.

Not knowing who might be his successor at Hawarth church, and anxious that the gospel he preached might still be preached there, in 1758 he built a chapel at his own expense. The cause of religion sunk very low some years after he died. But the chapel is now galleried and well attended, and we have a good society and congregation there.

In the spring of 1763, Hawarth was visited by a malignant putrid fever, of which many persons died. Before he was taken ill, he had a pre-sentiment that one of his family would fall a victim to the prevailing affliction. In visiting the sick he caught the infection: and from the first attack of the fever, expected and welcomed the approach of death. He was greatly supported in his affliction, and his consolations abounded. When Mr. Venn asked about the state of his mind, he cheerfully replied, "As happy as I can be on earth, and as sure of glory as if I was in it." At another time he said to his housekeeper, "O Mary! I have suffered the last night what the blessed martyrs did; my flesh has been as it were roasting before a hot fire. But I have nothing to do but to step out of my bed into heaven, and I have one foot upon the threshold already." His old friend, Mr. Jeremiah took hold of his hand at parting, and said, "the Lord bless you, Jerry: I will pray for you as long as I live; and if there be such a thing as praying in heaven, I will pray for you there also." "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.—Doubtless the reader will add, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." Amen.

He gave up the ghost, April 7, 1763, in the 55 year of his age, and in the 21 from his settlement at Haworth. He was buried in the church at Luddenden, near Halifax. The funeral was plain; yet

attended with circumstances that made it more solemn and affecting than, perhaps, the pompous funeral of Lord Nelson. Almost the whole neighborhood followed his corpse, for six or seven miles, making the air resound with sighs and groans, and bedewing the road with their tears. Mr. Venn, then vicar of Huddersfield, preached a funeral sermon for him at Luddenden and Haworth, and Mr. Romaine preached another at St. Dunstan's in the West in London.

Mr. Grimshaw was twice happily married. He was a burning and shining light. He was of a cheerful, generous, lively turn of mind; very courteous, and open as the day in his conversation with the people wherever he went. He was a natural orator; spoke with great facility; and preached the gospel with great ability and approbation.—Lastly, he spoke with that authority which belongs to the messengers of God. And with such success did the Lord crown his labors in his own parish, that one year, after having buried eighteen persons, he said he had good reason to believe that sixteen of them were gone to heaven.

Sundry other clergymen at different times, have assisted Mr. Wesley and his preachers, in carrying on the work of God. But the chief part of the ministerial instruments engaged in this work, have been laymen, though several of them have received ordination. Many of these have been very eminent for piety and usefulness, and some of them for preaching abilities.

CHAPTER III.

A short account of the REV. JOHN NELSON.

John Nelson, very properly ranks among the first Methodist preachers. He was a native of Birstal, near Leeds, and was born in the year 1707. Very early in life he was under serious concern for the salvation of his soul. In general he acted according to the light he had, and was still wishing, and endeavoring to learn the ways of the Lord more perfectly. His business led him to reside some years in London. Here he went about seeking rest and finding none. He went from one place of worship to another, and at last, he had an opportunity of hearing Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Wesley. His mind gradually expanded, till he was made wise unto salvation. In the

memoirs of his life, written by himself, he gives an account of his hearing Mr. Wesley the first time, which was out of doors, in Moorfields. He says, "As soon as he got upon his stand, he stroked back his hair, and turned his face towards where I stood, and I thought fixed his eyes upon me. His countenance struck such an awful dread upon me, before I heard him speak, that it made my heart beat like the pendulum of a clock; and when he did speak, I thought his whole discourse was aimed at me." Soon after this, Mr. Nelson was made a partaker of that peace of God that passeth all understanding. Among many oppositions and difficulties, he continued to cleave to the Lord, and to walk in his fear, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost.

But after some time, it was impressed upon his mind that he must return to his native place. I shall insert his own account of this affair. He says, "About ten days before Christmas, I went to St. Paul's, and while I was at the communion-table I felt such an awful sense of God resting upon me, that my heart was like melting wax before him and all my prayer was, 'Thy will be done; thy will be done.' I was so dissolved into tears of love, that I could scarce take the bread; and after I had received it, it was impressed upon my mind, I must go into Yorkshire directly." Accordingly, believing it to be the will of God, he packed up his clothes, and set out; he found much of the Lord's presence on the road; but he had no more thoughts of preaching than of eating fire.

Mr. Ingham had preached in the neighbourhood of Birstal, being then connected with the Moravians, and the doctrine of the new birth had caused much talk in those parts. John Nelson's acquaintance asked him what he thought of this doctrine. He told them that this *new faith*, as they termed it, was the only faith of the gospel; and he related to them his own experience. This was soon noised abroad, and more and more came to inquire concerning these strange things: some put him upon proving these great truths; and thus he was brought unawares, to quote, explain, compare, and enforce several parts of the scriptures. This he did at first sitting in his house, till the company increased so, that the house could not contain them. He then stood at the door, which he was commonly obliged to do every evening as soon as he came from work. And this may give the reader an idea of the

way and manner in which many of the Methodist preachers have been called to the work of preaching the gospel. For some time Mr. Nelson's friends, and his nearest relatives, opposed him, and were ashamed of him; but he was steadfast and immovable, and abounded in the work of the Lord. His success was very great in and about Birstal. Sinners were daily converted. Almost every night he went out of town, often four or five miles, after he had done his work, which was that of a mason; and commonly returned the same night in all sorts of weather.

In a while, Mr. John Wesley paid him a visit on his way to Newcastle. He said to Mr. Wesley, "Sir, you may make use of Jacob's words, 'The children thou hast begotten in Egypt before are mine, for I freely deliver them to your care.'"

It was about May when Mr. John Wesley came into Yorkshire; and towards Michaelmas, Mr. Charles Wesley, and Mr. Graves came: and from the time of their coming into Yorkshire, to their return to the south, which was about a month, some part of which they spent at Newcastle, eighty were added to the societies.

The Christmas following, Mr. Nelson was invited by William Shent to go and preach at Leeds. But the attempt was considered so hazardous, that he and the society about Birstal kept a day of fasting and prayer before he went. As he went over the bridge, he met two men, who said to him, "If you attempt to preach in Leeds, you must not expect to come out again alive; for there is a company of men that swear they will kill you." He answered, "they must first ask my Father's leave; for if he has any work more for me to do, all the men in the town cannot kill me till I have done it." He preached to a large congregation, which behaved well, and received the word with meekness.

After this he made an excursion into Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire, preaching with great success, though accompanied with opposition and persecution. Mr. Wesley sent for him up to London. But by this time he had nearly worn out his clothes, and did not know where the next should come from. His wife said, he was not fit to go any where as he was. He answered, "I have worn them out in the Lord's work, and he will not let me want long."

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And two days after, a neighboring tradesman, that did not belong to the society, came to his house and brought him a piece of blue cloth for a coat, and a piece of black cloth for a waistcoat and breeches. When he had got ready, he set out for London on foot, but one of his neighbors was going on horseback, who took his pace, and sometimes let him ride. He preached at Nottingham-cross, in the way.* After spending a little time in London, he set out for Oxford, and after preaching there, and at several other places, he reached Bath, and then Bristol. After a short stay there, he set out for Cornwall. One day after travelling twenty miles, without baiting, he and Mr. Downs, who travelled with him, came to a village, and inquired for an inn. But they were told there was none in the place, nor any on the road within twelve Cornish miles. Mr. Nelson said, "Come, brother Downs, we must live by faith." But they ventured to go to a house, and ask for something. The woman of the house said, "We have bread, butter, and milk, and good hay for your horse ;" for they had one horse between them. When they reached St. Ives, Mr. Nelson worked at his business for several days. After this he went and preached at St. Just, the Land's-End, and sundry other places. On his return from Cornwall he was benighted on the Twelve mile common, and was wet to the skin ; but by the providence of God, he came to the house where he had called in going down. He knocked at the door, and the woman knew his voice, and said, "The Lord bless you ! come in." They pulled off his wet clothes, put on dry ones, got him something warm for supper, and took his wet clothes out of his bags, which they rinsed, dried, and ironed. He sang a hymn, prayed, and gave them an exhortation that night. The next morning the man of the house alarmed that and another village, so that by seven o'clock, he had about three hundred to preach to, who all seemed to receive the word with joy. He was soon after informed, that the man and his wife, who received him, had received the Lord that sent him.

After preaching at many places in the way, he got home, and found his wife much better than she had been, though never likely to recover her former strength, owing to a persecution she met with at Wakefield, when Mr. Larwood was mobbed there. After they had abused him, she with some other women, set out for Birstal, a mob followed

them into the fields ; when they overtook them, upon which all the men returned without touching them ; but the women followed them till they came to a gate, where they stopped them : they damned her, saying, " You are Nelson's wife, and here you shall die." They saw she was big with child, yet beat her on the body so cruelly, that they killed the child, and she went home and miscarried immediately.

Having occasionally wrought at his business, and sometimes travelled into different parts to preach the gospel, after preaching at Adwalton, a few miles from Leeds, Joseph Gibson, the constable's deputy, an alehouse-keeper, who found his craft was in danger, pressed him for a soldier. Mr. Nelson asked him by whose order this was done. " He said, " Several inhabitants of the town, who did not like so much preaching." And by his talk they were they of his own craft, and the clergyman, who had agreed together. They took him to a public house. Mr. Charlesworth offered £500 bail for him till the next day. But no bail would be taken. He was removed the next day to Halifax. When he was brought before the commissioners, they smiled one at another, as soon as they saw him. They told the door-keepers not to let any man come in ; but Mr. Thomas Brooks had got in with him ; and they said, " That is one of his converts." They asked the constable's deputy what they had against him ? he answered, " I have nothing to say against him, but that he preaches to the people ; and some of our townsmen don't like so much preaching." They broke out in laughter, and one of them swore he was fit to go for a soldier, for there he might have preaching enough. Mr. Nelson said, " Sir you ought not to swear, " Well," said the commissioners, " you have no license to preach, and you shall go for a soldier. He answered, " I have as much right to preach as you have to swear." One said to the Captain, " Captain, is he fit for you ?" He answered, yes : " Then take him away." They refused to hear several of his neighbors, who were ready to speak to his character. The minister of Birstal, who was one of the commissioners, displayed very great enmity against him, and did all he could to injure him and his friends in the esteem of the other commissioners. The papers sent on his behalf were not suffered to be put on the file, lest if they should be called for, they would make against them.

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From Halifax he was conducted to Bradforth, and was put into the dungeon, which was a loathsome, stinking place. One of the soldiers offered the captain, that if he would give him charge over Mr. Nelson, that he would answer with his life, that he should be forthcoming in the morning. Mr. Nelson offered to pay a guard to be set over him in a room. But the captain answered, "My orders are to put you in the dungeon." In the morning, about four o'clock, his wife, and several friends, came to the dungeon, and spoke to him through the hole of the door. His wife said, "Fear not: the cause is God's for which you are here, and he will plead it himself. Therefore be not concerned about me and the children: for he that feeds the young ravens will be mindful of us. He will give you strength for your day; and after we have suffered a while, he will perfect that which is lacking in our souls, and then bring us wheré the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest."

The next day he was guarded to Leeds; and just as the service began at the church, he was guarded to the jail. Several offered to give bail for him, and even a stranger offered an hundred pounds. But the offer was refused. But a friend sent him a bed to lie on.

The next day, he and some other pressed men, were marched to York. He was taken before several officers, who seemed to rejoice as men that had taken great spoil, and saluted him with many grievous oaths. He asked these officers, "Do you believe there is a God, and that he is a God of truth?" They said, "We do." He answered, "I cannot believe you, I tell you plainly." They asked, "Why so?" He replied, "I cannot think that any man of common understanding, who believes that God is true, dare take his name in vain; much less do you believe that God can hear you, when you pray him to damn your souls." They said, "You must not preach here; you must not talk to us that are officers." He told them, there was but one way to prevent it, and that was to swear no more in his hearing.

As he was guarded through York, the streets and windows were filled with people, who shouted and huzza'd, as if he had been one who had laid waste the nation. But the Lord made his brow like brass, so that he could pass through the city as if there had been none in it but God and himself. But during his stay in York, he had full exer-

cise for his understanding, faith and patience. However, God gave him friends, and some even among the soldiers. And when he left the city, many of the people said to him, "We are sorry you are going so soon from York; but if you get your liberty, we hope both you and Mr. Wesley will come; for we have need of such plain dealing and thousands in this city would be glad to hear. We expected some of you two or three years ago: but you had no regard for our souls, till God brought you by force. Surely you were not sold hither, but sent for our good: therefore, forget us not."

From York they were marched northward through Easingworld, Northallerton, Darlington, and Durham to Sunderland. The people crowded to see him in his journey, and he embraced every opportunity of instructing them in the truths of the gospel. God wonderfully supported him in his trials; and Mr. Wesley contrived to see him at Durham. He exhorted him, he did not doubt but his captivity would turn to the glory of God, and the furtherance of the gospel. "Brother Nelson," said he, "lose no time; speak and spare not, for God has work for you to do in every place where your lot is cast: and when you have fulfilled his good pleasure, he will break your bonds in sunder, and we shall rejoice together." They then prayed and commended each other to the grace of God. The day following he was marched to Sunderland. Here he met with sunry comforts and encouragements, and some trials and persecutions. An officer who thought well of him, procured him a furlough to Newcastle for a week: and shortly after, he received a letter from Mr. Charles Wesley, informing him, that the Earl of Sunderland had assured Lady Huntingdon, that he should be set at liberty in a few days. He was discharged accordingly. One of the officers bore testimony, that he had done much good among them for that they had not one third the cursing and swearing among them which they had before he came.

He returned home to his wife, children and friends, at Birstal. After some time he went to York, and found that the seed sown in captivity had sprung up; for nineteen had found peace with God, and twice as many were under conviction, though they had no one to instruct them in his absence, but the little books he had left them.

Soon after, Mr. Wesley sent for him to London, and many came

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to hear him out of curiosity, when they heard it was the man who had been in prison; and some were convinced of the truth they heard. While he was in London, he received the letter, inviting him to go and preach at Sunderland: two men who had conversed with him when there, having found the Lord, and said that their souls panted for the salvation of their neighbours. Soon after, therefore, he preached at Sunderland Cross, to the chief part of the inhabitants of the town, who behaved well, and God visited many with his salvation. Sometime after he visited Bristol, and spent four months there, and in some parts of Somerset and Wiltshire. God wrought by his instrumentality: "Though the instrument be ever so weak," said he, "if God command it, a worm shall shake the earth."

It was at this time that the Scotch rebels entered England, but were soon turned back. This occasioned a general joy; but with regard to many, this joy was of the frantic, and licentious sort. Accordingly, when Mr. Nelson left Bristol, he met with many sufferings. Almost at every place where he came to preach, mobs were raised as if they were determined to kill him, because the rebels had been conquered. Even in the neighborhood of his native place, he met with great abuse. And when he paid another visit to York he was cruelly persecuted and narrowly escaped being killed by lawless and violent mobs. When preaching on Heworth-moor, (falsely called Hepworth-moor in Nelson's Journal) about a mile north of York, a popish gentleman brought a mob, and cried out, "knock out the brains of that mad dog;" and perfectly gnashed with his teeth. Immediately a shower of stones came and hit many of the people, till not one could stand near him. As he was going away, one struck him with a piece of brick on the back of his head, and he fell flat on his face, and must have lain for some time, had not two men helped him up; but he could not stand. The blood ran down his back quite into his shoes, and the mob followed him through the city, swearing they would kill him when they got him out of it. But a gentleman pulled him into his house, and dispersed the mob. After resting a while, he rode to Acomb, (improperly called Acklam in his Journal,) a town about two miles to the west of York, where he was to have preached at five o'clock. But while he and two of his friends were

walking in a field near to where he intended to preach, two stout men came, and one of them swore, "Here he is; I will kill him if there be not another man alive." He pulled off his hat and wig, and gave them to his companion, saying, "If I do not kill him, I will be damed." He then fiercely attacked him, threw him down, leaped with his knees on his belly several times, till he had nearly beaten the breath out of him, and caused his head to bleed again. He then went to the gentlemen, who had hired him and the other man to kill Mr. Nelson, and said, "Gentleman, I have killed the preacher, he lies dead in the croft." The parson's brother said, "Well, we will see ourselves; we will not take your word." Upon which, he and about twenty more came to Mr. Nelson. But he had recovered his breath, was turned on his face, and lay bleeding upon the ground. They lifted him up, but as soon as he could speak, he said, "Your mercy is only to make way for more cruelty. Gentlemen, if I have done any thing contrary to the law, let me be punished by the law; I am a subject to King George, and I appeal to the law; and I am willing to go before the Lord Mayor, as the King's magistrate." But they cursed him and the king too, saying, he was as bad as he and his fellows, or he would have hanged them all like dogs before that time: and one said, "If he were here, we would serve him as bad as you. The parson's brother cursed Mr. Nelson, and said, "According to your preaching, you would prove our ministers to be blind guides, and false prophets; but we will kill you as fast as you come." When he got into the street, they huzza'd, one gave him a hasty pluck by the right hand, and another struck him on the left side of his head and knocked him down. This they did eight times. And when at last he was unable to rise again, they took him by the hair of his head, and dragged him upon the stones for near twenty yards, some kicking him on his sides and thighs with their feet as the others dragged him along. Then six of them got upon him, and said they would tread the Holy ghost out of him. They then told him to order his horse that they might see him out of town. But he thought they intended to kill him privately, and so refused to go. Afterwards they attempted to throw him into a draw-well, but were prevented. Some friends got him up, and helped him into the house. Then the mob

set out for York, singing obscene songs: and this was on Easter Sunday. This was about the year 1774; he was steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. He fought the good fight, and kept the faith, till he finished his course rather suddenly at Leeds, and was buried at Birstal, where he was born. His friends put a monumental stone over his remains, to tell where he lies, and to perpetuate his memory. But this has been far better perpetuated by his labours, and the account which he published of the first forty-two years of his life.

He was a man of great bodily strength and vigour; of a good understanding and ready thought; of firm integrity and genuine piety; mighty in the Scriptures, and apt to teach; and his labors in preaching the gospel were crowned with great success. He was the first Methodist, and the first Methodist preacher in Yorkshire. Since then
WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT!

CHAPTER IV.

A short account of the REV. JOSEPH BENSON.

Mr. Joseph Benson, the subject of this Memoir, was born January 25, 1748, at Melmerby, in the parish of Kirk Oswald, and county of Cumberland, and baptised on the 21 of the following month. With his parents, who were not wanting in affection for any of their children, he was a peculiar favorite. His father designed him for the ministry, in the Established Church. In early youth he was serious and thoughtful, and so attentive to his books, that he could rarely be prevailed upon to amuse himself with his school-fellows.

After having acquired the first rudiments of learning at a village school, he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Dean, a Presbyterian Minister, at a place called Parkhead, the same parish. Not satisfied to be instructed merely in the languages and literature of ancient Greece and Rome, he even then manifested a desire to acquire some knowledge of Divinity, and for this purpose he seized every opportunity of reading the books on that subject, which he found in his tutor's library. So diligent was he in the acquisition of knowledge, that even in those youthful days he suffered not a moment to pass unemployed.

To his hardy manner of life when young, as a second cause under

God, may be attributed the bodily strength and general good health he possessed till near the close of his life.

In very early life, the Divine Spirit by operating upon his mind, discovered to him the vanity of the world, the evil of sin and the necessity of an entire devotedness to God.

Having remained under Mr. Dean's tuition till he was about fifteen or sixteen years of age, he became teacher in a school at Gamblesby, in Cumberland, where he continued about a year; during which time God by the instrumentality of his cousin Joshua Watson, showed him that notwithstanding the regularity of his outward conduct, he must obtain the pardon of his sins, experience a death unto sin and a new birth unto righteousness, in order to be happy in time or eternity.

His own account of his conviction for sin, and subsequent deliverance from guilt, is as follows.

"When I was about sixteen years of age, it pleased God by means of conversation with a cousin of mine, to convince me that I was not in his favor, since I did not know my sins forgiven. I was more and more deeply sensible of my alienation from God, by continuing to hear the Methodists, with whom I was united, and was in great disquietude and distress almost continually, for about ten months, till the Lord gave me to believe in his Son, and shed abroad his love in my heart. I may observe, I was not without some gracious drawings from God and transient tastes of his goodness at times during that distress. But for about seven or eight weeks before it was given me to believe, I was powerfully tempted to despair of ever obtaining mercy. Satan thrust sore at me, and I was in horrid agony. When I kneeled down I could not pray. It seemed as though the heavens were brass and not to be pierced. My tears I saw availed nothing. I was sorely impatient, and gave up all for lost. But glory be to God, he turned my heaviness into joy and made light to spring up in my heart."

This plain account of Mr. Benson's conversion to God, written when he was eighteen years of age, is highly satisfactory.

In his seventeenth year, he was persuaded to wait on Mr. Wesley, and he went to Newcastle Upon-Tyne, in hopes of meeting him, in December, 1765. After walking over the hills as the high bleak mountains are called, which separate Cumberland from Northumber-

land, he had the mortification to find on his arrival at Newcastle, that Mr. Wesley had some time before set off for London. After remaining at Newcastle several weeks, he engaged a passage on board a vessel for London. He remained in London about four weeks, enjoying with gratitude to God the great privilege of christian fellowship, and on March 11, 1766, Mr. Wesley appointed him to the office of classical master of Kingswood School.

In 1769, the Countess of Huntingdon established a school at Trevecca, in South Wales, for the education of young men of Piety belonging to any denomination, who, when prepared, were to be at liberty to enter into the ministry, either in the established church or amongst any other class of christians.

From the high opinion the Countess had of Mr. Fletcher's piety, learning and talents, she invited him to take the superintendence of this seminary, which he did without fee or reward. And through Mr. Fletcher's advice, Mr. Benson was induced to accept of the office of master of the college, to which he had previously been recommended by Mr. Wesley.

It however appears, that during Mr. Benson's absence at Oxford, a zealous advocate for the peculiar doctrines of the Genevese Reformer, visited Trevecca, and propagated the seeds of dissension and debate, with the peculiarities of Calvin, among the students. Her ladyship also beginning to attach more importance to the doctrines of election, and to censure the doctrines held by Messrs. Wesley, Fletcher and Benson, as heretical, determined at length to exclude from her college all anti-predestinarians.

About this time Mr. Benson left Trevecca. He had the consolation however, to receive from Lady Huntingdon the following certificate on quitting her college.

"This is to certify that Mr. Joseph Benson was master for the languages in my college, at Falgarth, for nine months, and that during that time from his capacity, sobriety and diligence, he acquitted himself properly in that character; and I am ready at any time to testify this on his behalf whenever required.

S. HUNTINGDON.

College, Jan. 17, 1771.

Mr. Benson had entered his name in the books of the University of

Oxford, March 15, 1769. From that time he regularly kept his terms at St. Edmunds Hall, and was, according to the testimony of a living clergyman of the church of England, who was his contemporary and friend, at the seat of learning, "conscientiously attentive to his studies, and obligations of his situation."

His design was to have continued at Oxford until he should graduate in the usual manner; but was discouraged by the opposition of his tutor, which opposition arose from the circumstance of his going out into the villages on Sundays, and preaching to the poor ignorant inhabitants, and colliers. Mr. Benson says that on these accounts, his tutor informed him, that he never would sign his testimonials for orders. "I could not," says he, "help seeing the hand of God in this affair, and I truly believe it is His will that I should leave the university."

The author deems it right to observe, [says Mr. McDonal,] that as all who enter our universities are bound to conform to its laws, or statutes; one of which is, that previous to their being ordained they shall not act as public teachers of religion; intelligent readers will not be surprised that Mr. Benson, whose zeal led him to preach frequently while keeping his terms at college, was refused his testimonials for ordination.

On leaving Oxford Mr. Benson went to visit his friends, in, and about Bristol, where, he remarks, "I remained six or seven weeks preaching in those or the neighboring parts."

From April 1771 till the following August, he acted as a preacher in Wiltshire.

In August 1771 he was received on trial at the Bristol Methodist Conference, and appointed to labor in the London circuit. From this time till he ended his long, laborious and useful life, we have to consider him as a Wesleyan Methodist minister. The ardent love of souls which led him to warn perishing sinners of their danger, and which in its effects was the cause of his removal from College, qualified him for more than ordinary usefulness in the wide field of itinerancy.

Methodism when he went to London circuit, was considered as having made no small progress, though all the members in Society including 316 in America, amounted to more than 31,340, a number which Mr. Benson lived to see increased to 500,000.

At the Conference held at Leeds in August 1772, Mr. Benson after having labored a year in the London circuit, was admitted into full connection, and appointed to the Newcastle circuit.—Nothing of very uncommon note is recorded respecting him or his labors this year.

The Conference in 1773 was held in London, and Mr. Benson was appointed to the Edinburgh Circuit; at which situation he at first felt opposed. But he observes, “By the grace of God, I will for the future, give up my own will whenever the will of God seems to appoint.”

In the same year he formed an acquaintance with the Rev. Jabez Bunting, whose account of him will afford a concise and correct illustration of his life and character from this time to the day of his death.

“I was not acquainted with him,” says Mr. Bunting, “till the year 1773; he was then a most devoted and spirited young man.” “A few years afterwards,” he continues, “he was appointed for the Bradford circuit. His popularity was at that time surprisingly great, but his deep humility kept him from the snares to which the just partiality of his friends, and the injudicious praises of some of his hearers, exposed him. Whenever his preaching was published, crowds of our Yorkshire friends came from all quarters, and though in following years he was often stationed in our principal circuits, every added year seemed only to increase the estimation in which the people held him, both in public and private character.

“In regard to the first, thousands knew him well, and all could bear their testimony that he was an able minister of the New Testament.—As to the second, his excellence was best known, and appreciated by his relatives and most intimate friends; but his deadness to the world was visible to all. All who conversed with our dear departed brother, could not but acknowledge that though *in* the world, he was not *of* the world. He was not satisfied without obeying the apostolic direction, ‘Be not conformed to this world.’

“That Mr. Benson was more abundant in labors than the generality of faithful ministers, none acquainted with his history will be disposed to controvert. Nor did he labor in vain. It appears in the course of his memoirs, that such a divine and powerful influence often accompanied his discourses, as to render them effectual for the purpose of awa-

kening many sinners to a sense of their guilt and danger, and of abundantly comforting those, who through grace had believed.

"Numbers, still in the land of the living, recollect with pleasure, and profit, several of these remarkable times.

"His attachment to the church of England, of which he had always with justice considered himself a member, was strong and unalterable. But he abhorred a party spirit, and hence embraced in the arms of christian friendship, all, however divided in opinion, who loved the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. His partiality to the established church was not accompanied by the slightest disaffection to orthodox and pious dissenters. As one proof of this, out of many that might be adduced, we would instance his affectionate recollection of the Rev. Samuel Lowel, at Bristol, an independent minister, who ranked among his first friends at Leeds. When in the year 1818 Mr. Benson occupied the chair at a meeting of the Bristol Methodist Missionary Society, casting his eye upon Mr. Lowel, who was present as a spectator, he testified to the numerous assembly the cordial pleasure it afforded him to recognise the face of his old friend, with whom as he expressed it, he had taken sweet counsel more than forty years before. We have the fullest authority for stating, that Mr. Lowel is never heard even to this day, to mention the name of his deceased friend, without bearing an affectionate, and emphatic testimony, to his superior talents and distinguished piety.

The following extract of a letter addressed to us by the Rev. Wm. Myles, bearing date July 1822, is descriptive of Mr. Benson's character.

"In the year 1782" says Mr. Myles, "I became acquainted with Mr. Benson and had the pleasure and profit of laboring with him in the Leeds circuit, from August 1796 to 1797. That circuit at the beginning of the former period was much agitated by fierce contentions respecting Mr. Kilham's expulsion from the Methodist connection, and the extraordinary innovations in the economy of Methodism, for which he was a strenuous advocate. In the midst of all these destructive contentions, Mr. Benson's wisdom, prudence and charity, showed conspicuously. And before the end of the year, we were favored with peace and prosperity in that old and respectable circuit.—

I had the honor of laboring with him in the London circuit from the year 1812 to 1814. I enjoyed similar advantages.

"From the first of my acquaintance with him to the last, he and I continued without any interruption to love as brethren. He was indeed a true follower of God. His labors as a preacher, a writer, and a disciplinarian, will never be forgotten amongst the Wesleyan Methodist.

„From a letter bearing date February 14, 1822, written by the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, we give the following extract.

"There are a few aged persons in this circuit, who acknowledge Mr. Benson as their father in Christ; one of whom found peace with God under a sermon he preached at Halifax, in the year 1777. From that time he has enjoyed the spirit of adoption.

"Great numbers in this circuit who were profited by his labors in 1782, and 1783 and afterwards, during occasional visits highly esteemed and revered Mr. Benson. But his praise is in all the churches. I esteem it one of the many favors conferred upon me by Divine Providence that I enjoyed intimacy with him for many years, and spent six in London during his residence there. Often while I was near him in City Road, did his diligence spake loudly to me, at night so late as eleven o'clock his light was unextinguished, and at five in the morning he was found at his study again. This was uniformly the case, and while I often observed it from my own room, I admired his conduct, and felt a desire to imitate him as far as practicable.

"During the two years I was at the Cahpel house, City Road, he seldom was absent from the meeting of Local Preachers at breakfast on Sunday mornings, and on these occasions his conversations on various theological subjects, were so highly instructive to the brethren, that they will be long remembered by many of them with pleasure and profit.

"With the dead languages, Mr. Benson was very familiar; and so frequently and carefully had he perused the Greek testament, that he could nearly repeat verbatim every passage it contains. With the Hebrew of the old testament he was well acquainted, having attentively read it several times. But while he made the bible his chief study, he did not neglect to read the justly celebrated writings of antiquity,

nor such modern works as merit a perusal. After he first found a copy of Homer's Iliad in Mr. Wesley's library, at Newcastle, he applied himself so closely to it as to read a book each day. He used to note every particular word as it occurred, with its derivation and meaning, interspersed with short critical remarks. He likewise followed this practice while reading some books of Xenophon, Plato's, Dialogues, and certain other authors; with the works of the best English Poets, as well as Philosophers and Historians, he was well acquainted.

"As a minister of Christ, until almost constantly engaged in preparing theological works for the press, he considered a day nearly wasted in which he did not preach once, twice, or oftener. He constantly sacrificed his own ease, and in order to be fully employed in the work of the ministry, refused to yield to the earnest wishes of his dearest friends and relatives. While engaged in the most diligent and self-denying labors in the cause of God, so far was he from glorying in himself, that he never allowed his services to be mentioned with praise.

"His texts were often chosen with a reference to the season or some passing events. He always preached on the subjects of the feasts and festivals of the church, as they occurred, nor did he omit to improve to the advantage of all such as were disposed to hear him, seasons of public amusements, when multitudes were assembled. In his sermons, he never called the attention of the people to any trivial or merely entertaining subject. On points of curious speculation or criticism, he never dwelt, but constantly inculcated the essential doctrines of christianity, together with its prospects, precepts, promises and threatenings. He spent much time in preparing for the pulpit, and hence his sermons were fraught with pure divinity, skilfully arranged. But his expectation of success was wholly from the Lord, to whom he looked for liberty in speaking and a blessing on what he delivered. He had well studied the evidences of his faith, and believing that the spread of infidel opinions was to be chiefly attributed to ignorance of those evidences, he was in the habit of bringing them forward in his sermons as occasion required.

"Of time he was a great economist. Through his conviction of its value, and his eagerness to acquire useful knowledge, he avoided as much as possible the company of the careless and trifling. But when

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he could not do this, he pray d for power to conduct himself towards them in a manner becoming his sacred office, and this he did upon all occasions. He disliked high professions when not accompanied with a suitable sense of sin, and spiritual deficiency.

“He was remarkable for the facility and success, with which he could engage his mind in devout meditation on various subjects; for instance on the immortality of the soul, personal identity, the future happiness of the righteous, &c.

“The natural warmth of his temper, which he carefully studied to mortify, was to him, often through life, a source of grief and temptation. But his most intimate friends can testify, that it was only what he conceived to be reprehensible, which excited his indignation, and that in his bosom anger did not find a resting place.

“The reluctance with which he frequently attended the conference, had its origin not in any defect of love to his brethren, (for he loved them most cordially) but in the high estimation he set upon leisure and retirement, and his unwillingness that any circuit should be left without a tolerable supply of suitable preachers. A more consistent warm hearted christian patriot than he, can not be easily imagined.

„Had he with St. Paul been subject to the government of Nero, he would with that Apostle have inculcated civil obedience as a christian duty. But he had the happiness of being a British subject, and consequently, of living under a government which his well instructed reason approved.

“Numerous proofs might be adduced to show that Mr. Benson was one of the most disinterested of men, but the following may suffice. In his office of Editor he doubled the size of the Methodist Magazine, and for a series of years published another periodical work, entitled “The Youth’s Instructor and Guardian.” He edited an octavo edition of Wesley’s works in seventeen volumes, and an edition of Fletcher’s, in nine volumes of the same size. Of the Christian Library now publishing at the Conference office, he edited eleven volumes octavo. And besides these, he edited many other works. He likewise during the course of his Editorship, wrote an excellent life of the Rev. John Fletcher, and his apology, besides various sermons. Independent of writing his large orthodox and learned commentary upon the Holy

Scriptures, he might be said to be abundant in literary labors. But when we add to them that excellent work completed in eight years, our astonishment is excited. And yet, notwithstanding the extraordinary tasks which he imposed upon himself, and performed with the greatest diligence and ease, he absolutely refused the remuneration: nor was his income any more than that of any other Preacher in the London East circuit. And when the Conference at Manchester, in 1815, voted him £500, not as a reward for labors, but as a mark of their approbation, no entreaties could prevail with him to except either the whole, or any part of that sum. In the management of his household affairs, he carefully avoided both meanness and imprudent expenditures. He rarely bought any thing upon credit, but when he did, he never suffered the bills of his tradesmen to remain long unpaid.

"His christian prudence, which was equally distant from timidity on the one hand, and precipitation on the other, was acknowledged by all who possessed a knowledge of his character.

"As a man of sense, piety and erudition, he occupied a high ground. As an author, his numerous publications prove that he was eminently qualified for the task of clearly stating and ably defending every branch of scriptural theology.

"He continued his pious labors in the cause of Christ, with unremitting ardor, and maintained by the grace of God an elevated character, as a minister of Christ, for more than fifty years; when he gradually sunk into the infirmities of age, and fell asleep in Jesus in the decline of his life. His mind was entirely calm and tranquil. He possessed the peace of God which passeth all understanding. His communion with God was deep, and his conversation remarkably spiritual and heavenly."

He died on the 16 of February, A. D. 1821, beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

A
COMPENDIOUS HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE

METHODIST CHURCH.

PART II.

Of Methodism in America.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF METHODISM IN AMERICA, TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

The rise of Methodism in New-York—Its rise in Maryland—The first Methodist Meeting house in America—The first Conference.

When we take a comparative view of the state of Methodism, from its first dawning upon our continent to the present period, our admiration and wonder are excited, at the mighty achievements, that incessantly rush upon our attention.

The unexampled rapidity of its march, attended with such innumerable instances of the greatest good, and real philanthropy to the bodies and souls of men, would seem somewhat dubitable were not those facts accompanied, and confirmed, by the most glaring evidences.

Like unto the smallest of all seeds, (according to our Saviours parable,) Methodism has been planted,—hath sprung up and grown, so as to rank among the largest of trees: till its branches have finally spread throughout, almost every clime of the western world. Occurrences of very inconsiderable moment, apparently, gave rise or proved the first introduction, to this apostolic and wide spreading community. The first instruments indeed of establishing methodism in this country,

and of propagating its doctrines among the people, were men of but moderate abilities, and, who only occasionally turned their attention from their secular concerns to the propagation of religion. The great Head of the Church however, was mindful of his people and clothed the word of his servants with power ; so that many were convinced of their wretched condition and turned from the service of Satan unto God.

In the year 1736 and 1737, according to the account already given, the Rev. John Wesley was in this country, and formed a society in Savannah. But when he returned to England, the society not being sufficiently organized soon dwindled away.

Near thirty years had elapsed after this circumstance transpired, before Methodism took a second flight, and revisited our western climes. Nor was it known to the inhabitants of America, until the emigration from Great Britain and Ireland to this country had commenced, which brought in now and then, a few scattering members of the Methodist connection in those countries. These were consequently scattered remotely among the population, which rendered an understanding, or correspondence among them totally impracticable. Thus deprived of the social means of grace and the administration of the word, many began to decline in their enjoyment, and others, impelled by necessity, united with some of the established orders, though quite different in their character, and less correct in principle.

A few thus isolated from the main body, were residing in the city of New-York ; and among them an elderly lady that had lately been a member in Ireland. Having learnt the arrival of a few more of her society, whom she had known in that country, she called at their residence in the way of friendship, and was mortified as well as surprised, to discover them engaged in a game of cards. She reproached them by taking up the cards, and throwing them indignantly away ; then proceeded instantly to the house of Philip Embury, who was her countryman and a zealous advocate of the tenets of Mr. Wesley. With eloquence becoming a cause so praiseworthy, she portrayed to him the fallen condition of their friends, exhorted him to use all his efforts to reclaim them from their careless and erroneous ways ; and reminded him that God demanded this necessary exertion on his part, who would otherwise charge their sins in a measure to his neglect. Less

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argument would have prevailed upon this man, whom we must consider as the real founder of Methodism in America. He agreed to hold a meeting in an apartment of his house, which was situated in Augustus-street, [then called Barrack-street,] whilst the lady should collect as many persons together as were willing to attend. The task was arduous: not only the scoffs of the ignorant, the sarcasms of the worldly minded, the contempt of the more wealthy class of people, and the stern opposition manifested by partisans of old established persuasions, would array themselves against the undertaking; but also the sceptered hand of power, then as rigorous in religion as it was in civil concerns, perhaps would fall upon them with a weight that might at once crush their infant association. These dangers, however, were disregarded by persons, who had only a few earthly comforts to risk, and a sure prize of immortal glory to gain.

At their first meeting only six were collected. They sang and prayed, whilst Mr. Embury instructed them in the doctrines of salvation. Influenced by the spirit of holiness, they enrolled their names into a class, and resolved to attend regularly at his house for further instruction. Gradually increasing in numbers, they continued in this manner, till heaven sent to their aid assistance, as unsuspected as useful.

Shortly after having formed themselves into a class, they had obtained a more commodious room in the neighborhood; where, however, most people would not be seen among a sect, whom the world denominated wild enthusiasts. Indeed they were at times enthusiastic; but enthusiastic in the best of causes: and yet Mr. Embury endeavored to restrain those unguarded expressions of their feelings that were so disgusting to unconcerned observers. Once having met together as usual, they were surprised whilst singing, by the entrance of a man, in full military uniform, whose appearance on such an occasion struck the whole company with consternation. All eyes were anxiously fixed upon him, to discover whether any sinister purpose was intended by this visit, from an officer of the Royal American troops: but when they saw him disposed to join in worship, when they saw him kneel together with themselves in solemn prayer, and perceived the marked serenity of his features; their fears were dispelled, and

they recognized, under the disguise of war, a brother and a faithful follower of the Lord Jesus Christ. After the exercises were concluded, he introduced himself as Lieutenant Webb from Albany; and from that moment became the chief pillar of this rising congregation.

Hearing of the society in New York, and of the difficulties with which they had to contend, he came to their assistance, introduced himself to Mr. Embury, and appeared before the assembly in his military costume as a preacher of righteousness. To behold a military officer in the character of an ambassador of Jesus Christ, was a matter of no small surprise to the citizens who attended the meetings.

It was usual at that time for military men to wear on all occasions their regimental suit; and to behold in the pulpit a preacher attired in a scarlet coat with splendid facings, having a sword, with the Bible before him, was one of those anomalies, in which the world, whilst it ridicules the person, cannot help admiring the boldness of the act. Captain Webb, by exciting the passion of curiosity, obtained hearers; many of whom, convinced by the strength of his eloquence, under the influence of Divine grace, attached themselves to the society. Some of the first members, still living, remember well his animated manner, and speak in terms of high approbation of his blunt and emphatic style. "You must repent or be forever damned," often resounded into the ears of the wicked, as his arm, fitted for wielding the sword, fell with violence upon the desk, and struck terror into his auditory.

The situation of the inhabitants of New York in religious matters, was somewhat peculiar. A professed infidel dared not show himself; open atheism was only known as a monster of European production; and the catholics whom fortune had cast upon these shores, were obliged to hide their superstitious rites, under a mask of thorough concealment. Nearly every body belonged to some sect; and indifference was viewed with utter dislike. Even the troops that paraded on a Sunday morning, in marching down Broadway, filed off to the right or left, some to one church and some to another. All were religious or pretended to be so; whilst the laws, taking an immediate interest in affairs of conscience, required the strictest attention to the established forms of public worship.

In what light then must the methodists have been regarded, who

boldly throwing aside the shackles of prejudice and hereditary customs, pursued a direct path to Heaven, and in a righteous cause defied the most despotic of all laws—that which attempts to bind men's consciences? They were ridiculed and hated; but despised they could not be: for mankind, where they fear the reproofs which an amiable character can cast upon their follies, are never capable of real disdain, how much soever they may feign it. Dreading the influence of their incontrovertible doctrines, it required all the art of parents to keep their unprejudiced children, from what they deemed a spiritual contagion: and an old member of the church relates to this day, the desire he entertained in his youth, of finding a truly religious people; tells the difficulties he met with, in escaping the threats of his family, of his resorting secretly up the winding stairs where Embury used to preach, and his listening there, with great delight, to all the truths of the Gospel.

In consequence of an increased attention to the word preached by Mr. Embury and Capt. Webb, the room in which they assembled became too small. They therefore hired a rigging loft, in William-st. which they fitted up for a place of worship. Here they continued for a time to build "each other up in the most holy faith." While Mr. Embury remained in the city, working with his hands for a living, and preaching to the people on the sabbath, attending prayer meetings, &c. Capt Webb made excursions upon Long Island, where he preached Jesus Christ unto the people with peculiar energy and effect.

It was not long, however, before the rigging loft in William-street was found too small to accommodate all who wished to assemble with them. To remedy this inconvenience, they began to think seriously about building a chapel. To this undertaking, however, there were many difficulties. The members of the society were mostly poor, few in number, and but little known among the wealthy and influential portion of the citizens. Being encouraged, however, by the exhortations of Mrs. Hick, a woman of deep piety, and great intrepidity of mind, they made an effort to erect a house for the Lord.

Messrs. Lupton, Source, Newton, White, Jarvis, and a few more, were the persons most engaged in erecting the **FIRST METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA**. Of these, William Lupton, a very respecta-

ble merchant, proved himself the chief agent and support, whose maxim it is said, was, "The church first and then my family." Through the interest of Capt. Webb, they procured a spot on Golden hill, which was a rising ground near the borders of the city, [now compact with houses and named John-street,] where they purchased materials and contracted for the building in their own names and upon their individual securities. The fire of opposition raged tremendously against the rising edifice : its enemies loudly predicted its downfall ; whilst pamphlets were published and discourses delivered, in order to frustrate its completion. But how fruitless this opposition was, time has fully shown. The multitude, a headstrong body ever delighted with strife, often adds an interest to that, which, without their canvassing the subject and taking different sides of the dispute, might soon fall into oblivion ; and their very attempt towards smothering a good cause, is but giving it additional fuel.

According to the colonial law, none but the established service could be performed in what was commonly called a church ; and places for public worship belonging to dissenters, therefore were to have some appendage about them which should cause them to be classed among ordinary dwellings. Whence it became necessary to affix a fire-place and chimney to the methodist *church*, merely for the purpose of eluding so preposterous a regulation. The walls were constructed of ballast stone, and the face was covered with a light blue plaster. It was completed in the most substantial manner ; designed evidently to withstand the brunt of successive ages. In vaults underneath the basement, bodies of the dead were deposited. Wesley's Chapel, as they called it, bore upon the whole, an appearance as plain and simple as the lives of its projectors. There were no useless decorations lavished on it, nor any frivolous ornaments ; and so well was it suited to the humble minds of its proprietors, that many possessed of good taste, now regret its demolition, though they look with pleasure upon the costlier edifice that has taken its place.

On the 30 day of October, 1768, Mr. Embury delivered a discourse from the pulpit which he had himself constructed ; declaring that the best dedication of the church a minister could make, was to preach in it a faithful sermon. In the preaching of Mr. Embury, there was

something extremely affecting; he generally shed tears in the midst of his subject, and on all occasions showed himself a perfectly sincere christian. His occupation was that of a house carpenter; but no business could detract his thoughts from heavenly things; and he was often heard singing hymns in earnest devotion, and at the same time busily plying the implements of his trade. With the example of his pious and unaffected manners and the convincing arguments, and irresistible style of Capt. Webb, all the barriers of the enemy were overthrown; the society became enlarged; their meeting respectably attended; and the much abused methodists began to appear as a body, equal in power with any that had been introduced into the British Colonies.

Golden hill, locally so called, being afterwards lowered by digging away the earth, occasioned the church to stand more above ground, than had in the beginning been contemplated; it was necessary to descend into it at first by several steps. A house occupied as the parsonage stood partly before the front, and was a building in the antique taste of the Dutch: it also contained the Methodist library, and was founded many years before the church. (*) Two additional lots, adjoining on the left side, were bought after the revolution for two hundred pounds, which are now to the trustees the source of a pretty handsome income. To screen the congregation from the passing multitudes in the street, a wooden partition or fence, having a gateway and a small door on one side was put up, and thus formed an area paved with brick, about thirty feet wide. The front of the edifice presented three upper windows, surmounted by a circular one near the roof; below, a large arched door with an entrance by steps on each side to the galleries; the women going into the right, and the men, who sat apart entering on the left hand. But these were subsequent

(*) The sextons lived in the cellar of this house, of whom one Cremor, a kind of police officer, was the first. Afterward, Robert Duncan was chosen; who was a poor laboring man, and so respected for his piety, that earnest seekers of salvation, when they wanted to be directed in the right way, used to exclaim to one another, "Come, let us go and see Robert."—Since the above was written and laid aside for the press, Peter Williams, who had long been sexton, departed this life, in the full assurance of entering upon the joys of the eternal world. He was one of the oldest colored members. Though once a slave, he was enabled by his good conduct, not only to procure his freedom, but also to amass considerable property; and to educate his children for the highest stations to which his humble race can attain.

additions. The interior remained for many years unfinished. The gallery had no breastwork nor any stairs to ascend to it; boys would mount by a ladder and sit there upon the platforms. The lower part for a long time had only benches, without even a back piece to recline against—so homely was the place where the Almighty deigned to show forth his power in many revivals, and reclaim many sinners from their wicked courses.

Twelve months precisely had elapsed from the dedication of the church till the Missionaries arrived at Philadelphia; in which time Captain Webb had proved extremely useful, and his preaching was attended with large assemblies of attentive hearers. The Rev. Mr. Crowther has given us the following account of this singular but excellent man.

"In the campaign of 1758," says he, "in which General Wolfe conquered Quebec, and lost his life, Captain Webb received a wound in his arm, and lost his right eye; religion had no place in his heart at this time. But in 1764, he was enlightened to see that he was a sinner; and so great a sinner, that he almost despaired of mercy. In 1765, the Lord brought him out of the horrible pit, and the miry clay, and set his feet upon a rock, and established his goings. Yea, he put a new song into his mouth, even of praise and thanksgiving to God.—During this period he had no director but the Lord. However, quickly afterwards he became acquainted with Mr. Roquet, an evangelical minister in the established church, and through him, with the Methodists, when he soon resolved, "This people shall be my people, and their God my God."

"The first time he appeared as a public speaker, was in Bath. The preacher who was expected not coming, he was desired to speak a little to the congregation. He dwelt chiefly upon his own experience, and the people were satisfied and refreshed. It was not long after this, that he was appointed *Barrack Master of Albany*, and went to America; when he arrived there, he regularly performed family prayer in his own house; some of his neighbors frequently attended. He often gave them a word of exhortation, and the encouragement he met with emboldened him to extend his labors.

Under God, he was one of the first instruments of planting Methodism on the continent of America. And there he erected the first

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Methodist chapel, which was in the city of New-York. In that city he preached with great success. He wrote to Mr. Wesley, entreating him to send preachers to America: who accordingly in 1769, sent Mr. Richard Boardman, and Mr. Joseph Pilmore. After his return to England, Mr. Webb took up his residence at Bristol, and preached there, as well as in many places adjacent. In general, great multitudes flocked to hear him; many of whom did not hear in vain. He was instrumental in turning many from the ways of folly and sin to the paths of wisdom and holiness. Mr. Wesley mentions in his Journal, coming to a place where Captain Webb had lately been; "The Captain," says he, "is all life and fire, and therefore many will hear him that will not hear a better preacher. And it is very well they do, for he does a great deal of good."

But to return, Methodism was now firmly established in New York. The first Methodist society in America was formed in the city of New York, in the year 1766, by a few emigrants from Ireland. About the same time however, that Mr. Philip Embury and his associates, were laying the foundation for such permanent good in this city, a similar society was formed in Frederick County, Maryland, through the instrumentality of Mr. Robert Strawbridge, another local preacher from Ireland, and, through his influence a Methodist meeting house was soon afterwards built and a regular society organized.

The society at New York being poor, they were in considerable embarrassment and painful suspense for some time, concerning the means for building the contemplated house. It seems however that they were providentially directed, and at length they hit upon a plan introduced by Mrs. Hick, which proved an efficient help. That was to issue subscriptions; which they accordingly did, and went to the Mayor and other opulent citizens, to whom they explained their designs, and from whom they received liberal donations.

While this house was building, the society addressed a letter to Mr. Wesley, requesting him to send them a preacher, such as would be likely to command a congregation. Mr. Embury, though a zealous and good man and much engaged in the cause of Christ, had but moderate abilities as a preacher. He had besides to labor with his hands to support himself and family, and therefore could not devote himself ex-

clusively to the work of the ministry. To supply this deficiency the society wisely determined to solicit aid from abroad. They therefore wrote a letter to Mr. Wesley, stating the case of their religious affairs, and requesting a preacher to be sent. Who the writer of this letter was we have no account, having only the initials of the name, "T. T." given. But, it appears from its contents, that the author had been a member of the Methodist Society in London. The following is a transcript.

"New York, April 11, 1768.

REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR,—I intended writing to you for several weeks past; but a few of us had a very material transaction in view. I therefore postponed writing, until I could give you a particular account thereof; this was the purchasing of ground for building a preaching house upon, which, by the blessing of God, we have now concluded. But before I proceed, I shall give you a short account of the state of religion in this city. By the best intelligence I can collect, there was little either of the form or power of it, until Mr. Whitfield came over thirty years ago; and even after his first and second visits, there appeared but little fruit of his labors. But during his visit fourteen or fifteen years ago, there was a considerable shaking among the dry bones. Divers were savingly converted; and this work was much increased in his last journey, about fourteen years since, when his words were really like a hammer and like a fire. Most part of the adults were stirred up: great numbers pricked to the heart, and by a judgment of charity, several found peace and joy in believing. The consequence of this work was, churches were crowded, and subscriptions raised for building new ones. Mr. Whitfield's example provoked most of the ministers to a much greater degree of earnestness. And by the multitudes of people, old and young, rich and poor, flocking to the churches, religion became an honorable profession. There was now no outward cross to be taken up therein. Nay, a person who could not speak about the grace of God, and the new birth, was esteemed unfit for genteel company. But in a while, instead of pressing forward, and growing in grace, (as he exhorted them,) the generality were pleading for the remains of sin, and the necessity of being in darkness. They esteemed their opinions as the very essentials of Christianity, and regarded not holiness, either of heart or life.

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"The above appears to me to be a genuine account of the state of religion in New York eighteen months ago, when it pleased God to rouse up Mr. Embury to employ his talents (which for several years had been hid as it were in a napkin,) by calling sinners to repentance, and exhorting believers to let their light shine before men. He spoke at first only in his own house. A few were soon collected together and joined into a little society, chiefly his own countrymen, Irish Germans. In about three months after, brother White and brother Source from Dublin, joined them. They then rented an empty room in their neighborhood, which was the most infamous street in the city, adjoining the barracks. For some time few thought it worth their while to hear : but God so ordered it by his providence, that about fourteen months ago, Captain Webb, barrack master at Albany, (who was converted three years since at Bristol,) found them out, and preached in his regimentals. The novelty of a man preaching in a scarlet coat, soon brought greater numbers to hear than the room could contain. But his doctrines were quite new to the hearers ; for he told them, point blank, 'that all their knowledge and religion were not worth a rush, unless their sins were forgiven,' and they had 'the witness of God's Spirit with theirs, that they were the children of God.'" This strange doctrine, with some peculiarities in his person, made him soon taken notice of ; and obliged the little society to look out for a larger house to preach in. They soon found a place that had been built for a rigging house, 60 feet in length, and 18 in breadth.

"About this period Mr. Webb, whose wife's relations lived at Jamaica, Long Island, took a house in that neighborhood, and began to preach in his own house, and several other places on Long Island.— Within six months, about twenty-four persons received justifying grace, nearly half of them whites,—the rest negroes. While Mr. Webb, was, (to borrow his own phrase,) 'felling trees on Long Island,' brother Embury was exhorting all who attended on Thursday evenings, and Sundays, morning and evening, at the rigging house, to flee from the wrath to come. His hearers began to increase, and some gave heed to his report, about the time the gracious providence of God brought me safe to New-York, after a very favorable passage of six weeks from Plymouth. It was the 26 day of October last, when I

arrived, recommended to a person for lodging ; I inquired of my host (who was a very religious man,) if any Methodists were in New-York ; he answered, that there was one Captain Webb, a strange sort of man, who lived on Long Island, and who sometimes preached at one Embury's, at the rigging house. In a few days I found out Embury. I soon found of what spirit he was, and that he was personally acquainted with you, and your doctrines, and that he had been a helper in Ireland. He had formed two classes, one of the men, and the other of the women, but had never met the society apart from the congregation, although there were six or seven men, and as many women, who had a clear sense of their acceptance in the beloved.

"You will not wonder at my being agreeably surprised in meeting with a few here, who have been and design again to be in connexion with you. God only knows the weight of affliction I felt on leaving my native country. But I have reason now to conclude God intended all for my good. Ever since I left London, my load has been removed, and I have found a cheerfulness in being banished from all near and dear to me, and I made a new covenant with my God, that I would go to the utmost parts of the earth, provided he would raise up a people, with whom I might join in praise. On the great deep I found a more earnest desire to be united with the people of God than ever before. I made a resolution that God's people should be my people, and their God my God : and bless his holy name, I have since experienced more heartfelt happiness than ever I thought it possible to have on this side eternity. All anxious care about my dear wife and children is taken away. I cannot assist them, but I daily and hourly commend them to God in prayer, and I know he hears my prayers, by an answer of love in my heart. I find power to daily devote myself unto him ; and I find power also to overcome sin. If any uneasiness at all affects me, it is because I can speak so little of so good a God.

"Mr. Embury lately has been more zealous than formerly ; the consequence of which is, that he is more lively in preaching ; and his gifts as well as graces are much increased. Great numbers of serious persons came to hear God's word as far their lives ; and their numbers increased so fast that our house, for six weeks past, would not contain half the people.

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¶ We had some consultations how to remedy this inconvenience, and Mr. Embury proposed renting a small lot of ground for twenty-one years, and to exert our utmost endeavors to build a wooden tabernacle; a piece of ground was proposed; the ground rent was agreed for, and the lease was to be executed in a few days. We however, in the mean time, had two several days for fasting and prayer, for the direction of God and his blessing on our proceedings; and providence opened such a door as we had no expectation of. A young man, a sincere Christian, and constant hearer, though not joined in society, not giving any thing towards this house, offered ten pounds to buy a lot of ground, went of his own accord to a lady who had two lots to sell, on one of which there is a house that rents for eighteen pounds per annum. He found the purchase money of the two lots was six hundred pounds, which she was willing should remain in the purchaser's possession, on good security. We called once more on God for his direction, and resolved to purchase the whole. There are eight of us who are joint purchasers: among whom Mr. Webb and Mr. Lupton are men of property. I was determined the house should be on the same footing as the orphan house at New-Castle and others in England: but as we were ignorant how to draw the deeds, we purchased for us and our heirs, until a copy of the writing is sent us from England, which we desire may be sent by the first opportunity.

“Before we began to talk of building, the devil and his children were very peaceable: but since this affair took place, many ministers have cursed us in the name of the Lord, and labored with all their might to stop their congregations from assisting us. But he that sitteth in the highest laughed them to scorn. Many have broken through and given their friendly assistance. We have collected above one hundred pounds more than our own contributions; and have reason to hope in the whole we shall have two hundred pounds: but the house will cost us four hundred pounds more, so that unless God is pleased to raise up friends we shall yet be at a loss. I believe Mr. Webb and Mr. Lupton will borrow or advance two hundred pounds, rather than the building should not go forward; but the interest of money here is a great burden—being seven per cent. Some of our brethren proposed writing to you for a collection in England: but I was averse to

this, as I well know our friends there are over burdened already. Yet so far I would earnestly beg: if you would intimate our circumstances to particular persons of ability, perhaps God would open their hearts to assist this infant society, and contribute to the first preaching house, on the original Methodist plan in all America, (excepting Mr. Whitfields orphan house in Georgia,) but I shall write no more on this subject.

"There is another point far more material, and in which I must importune your assistance, not only in my own name, but also in the name of the whole society. We want an able and experienced preacher; one who has both gifts and grace necessary for the work. God has not, indeed, despised the day of small things. There is a real work of grace begun in many hearts, by the preaching of Mr. Webb and Mr. Embury; but though they are both useful, and their hearts in the work, they want many qualifications for such an undertaking; and the progress of the gospel here depends much upon the qualifications of preachers.

"In regard to a preacher, if possible we must have a man of wisdom, of sound faith, and a good disciplinarian: one whose heart and soul are in the work; and I doubt not but by the goodness of God, such a flame would be soon kindled, as would never stop till it reached the great South sea. We may make many shifts to avoid temporal inconveniencies; but we cannot purchase such a preacher as I have described. Dear sir, I entreat you for the good of thousands, to use your utmost endeavors to send one over. I would advise him to take shipping at Boston, Liverpool, or Dublin, in the month of July or early in August; by embarking at this season he will have fine weather in his passage, and probably arrive here in the month of Sept. He will see before winter what progress the gospel has made.

"With respect to money for the payment of the preacher's passage over, if they could not procure it, we would sell our coats and shirts to procure it for them.

"I most earnestly beg an interest in your prayers, and trust you and many of our brethren, will not forget the church in this wilderness.

"I remain with sincere esteem, Rev. and dear sir, Your very affectionate brother and servant,

"T. T."

The subject being laid before the British Conference, two preachers, Messrs. Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmore, volunteered their services as Missionaries for America, with whom Mr. Wesley sent fifty pounds, "as a token" says he of our brotherly love. They landed at Gloucester Point, six miles below Philadelphia, October 24, 1769. Besides those deputed by Mr. Wesley several others arrived.

Of these, Mr. Williams, was the earliest who preached in the city of New York. Thousands attended the place of worship, and those who could not find entrance, were content to listen outside of the doors. Messrs. Boardman and Pilmore, whom the society received as missionaries, were the next who began to preach in the city, and afterwards took their stated appointments of six months each, interchanging between this and Philadelphia. The appointments were then reduced to four months, and at last to three, on each station. More preachers arriving, circuits began to be formed in various parts of the United States. Their glory was to suffer the greatest fatigues, to toil night and day for their Divine master, and to encounter all the perils of the most hideous forests, unknown deserts, and trackless uninhabitable regions. No pains were for them too great.

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Pilmore shows how cordially they were received, and the engaging prospects of the work of God in this country.

"Philadelphia, Oct. 31, 1769.

"*Rev. Sir,*—By the blessing of God we are safely arrived here, after a tedious passage of nine weeks. We were not a little surprised to find Captain Webb in town, and a society of about one hundred members who desire to be in close connexion with you. 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'

"I have preached several times, and the people flock to hear in multitudes. Sunday evening I went out upon the common. I had the stage appointed for the horse race for my pulpit, and I think between four and five thousand hearers, who heard with attention, still as night. Blessed be God for field preaching. When I began to talk of preaching at five o'clock in the morning, the people thought it would not do in America: however, I resolved to try, and I had a very good congregation.

"Here seems to be a great and effectual door opening in this country, and I hope many souls will be gathered in. The people in general like to hear the word, and seem to have some ideas of salvation by grace."

After continuing a short time in Philadelphia, Mr. Pilmore made an excursion to Maryland, where he found Mr. Strawbridge, and preached with some success. He likewise visited some parts of Virginia and North Carolina; and witnessing the happy effects of his labors in the awakening of sinners, he formed some societies. In all places which he visited, he found people eager to hear the word, and kind to those who came to preach it. From thence he returned to Philadelphia, and soon came down to New York, while Mr. Boardman went to Philadelphia; thus commencing, in the early age of their labors, a regular change from place to place. The society in New York, under the labors of Mr. Embury, and Captain Webb, was in a flourishing state on the arrival of Mr. Boardman, whose godly simplicity and evangelical preaching were made a peculiar blessing to many. In this prosperous state of society, Mr. Pilmore entered upon his charge over them. As he thought it prudent to make a fair trial before he transmitted his account of the state of things to Mr. Wesley, he deferred writing until April 24, 1770, on which day he wrote the following letter:—

"Our house contains about seventeen hundred hearers. About a third part of those who attend get in; the rest are glad to hear without. There appears such a willingness in the Americans to hear the word, as I never saw before. They have no preaching in some of the back settlements. I doubt not but an effectual door will be opened among them! O! may the Most High now give his Son the heathen for his inheritance. The number of the blacks that attend the preaching affects me much."

From these representations of the state and disposition of the people in America, Mr. Wesley was induced to concert measures to send them over more laborers. Accordingly the next year, 1771, Mr. Francis Asbury and Mr. Richard Wright, who volunteered their services, were dismissed under the blessing of God for the help of their brethren in America. They set sail from Bristol, Sept. 2, 1771, and

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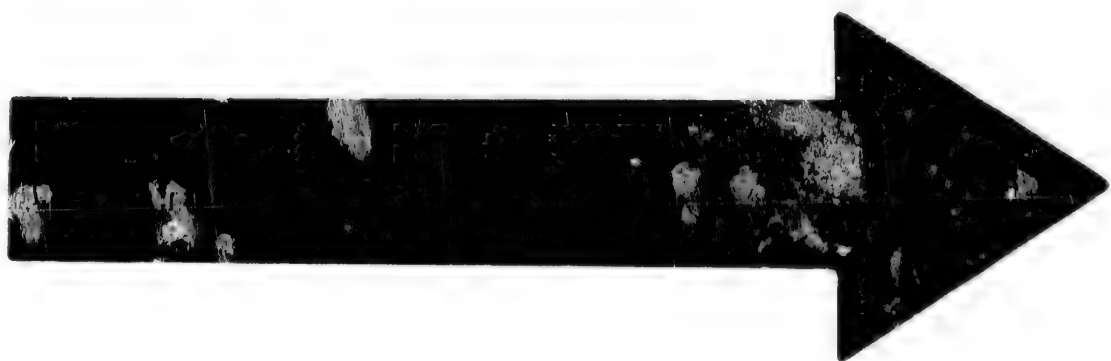
landed in Philadelphia, the 24th of October following. They were received with great cordiality, "the people hardly knowing," says Mr. Asbury, "how to show their love sufficiently, bidding us welcome with fervent affection, and receiving us as the angels of God."

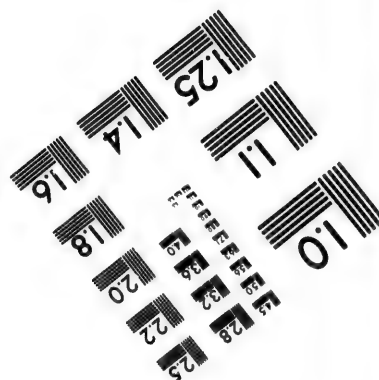
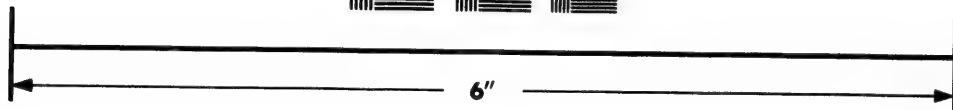
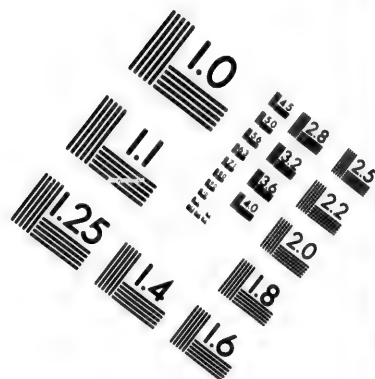
According to a notice in Mr. Asbury's Journal, vol. iii, p. 109, it appears that when he arrived in this country, he found three hundred Methodists in New York, two hundred and fifty in Philadelphia, and a few in New-Jersey, probably in all about six hundred. Those in Maryland do not appear to be included in this number. On the arrival of Mr. Asbury, he very properly judged he could not expect a general spread of the work of God, unless they extended themselves into the country towns and villages. He accordingly led the way, by which the prospects of usefulness opened before them in every direction.

By the faithful exertions of Mr. Asbury, and those who were associated with him, the work of God extended among the people, and it was soon perceived that more help was much needed to supply the calls of the people. Indeed the people in many places, particularly in the middle and southern province—for so these United States were then called, being a part of the British dominions—were but poorly supplied with the word and ordinances of Christ, and pure religion was generally at a very low ebb. A taste for experimental religion had, it is true, been created in some hearts, by the powerful preaching of the celebrated Whitefield, who, some time previously to the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, had travelled through the country, and preached with his usual zeal and success. The fields, however, at this time, "were ripe for the harvest;" and a faithful account of the state of affairs here being transmitted to Mr. Wesley, in 1773, Messrs. Thomas Rankin and George Shadford volunteered their services and came over to the continent: and the following year Messrs. James Dempster and Martin Rodda were added to the number.

To Mr. Rankin Mr. Wesley committed the general superintendency of the work, and he called the first regular conference in the city of Philadelphia, in the month of June, 1773. (*)

(*) This date corresponds with that in the printed minutes; but according to Mr. Asbury's Journal, this conference was held July 14, 1773, and Mr. Drew, in his life of Dr. Coke, agrees with Mr. Asbury in an extract from Mr. Rankin.





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Minutes of some conversations between the Preachers in connexion with the Rev. John Wesley. Philadelphia, June, 1773.

The following queries were proposed to every preacher :

1. Ought not the authority of Mr. Wesley and that conference, to extend to the preachers and people in America, as well as in Great Britain and Ireland ?

Ans. Yes

2. Ought not the doctrine and discipline of the Methodists, as contained in the minutes, to be the sole rule of our conduct, who labor in the connexion with Mr. Wesley, in America ?

Ans. Yes.

3. If so, does it not follow, that if any preachers deviate from the minutes, we can have no fellowship with them till they change their conduct ?

Ans. Yes.

The following rules were agreed to by all the preachers present :

1. Every preacher who acts in connexion with Mr. Wesley and the brethren who labor in America, is strictly to avoid administering the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.

2. All the people among whom we labor to be earnestly exhorted to attend the church, and to receive the ordinances there ; but in a particular manner, to press the people in Maryland and Virginia, to the observance of this minute.

3. No person or persons to be admitted into our lovefeasts oftener than twice or thrice, unless they become members : and none to be admitted to the society meetings more than thrice.

4. None of the preachers in America to re-print any of Mr. Wesley's books, without his authority (when it can be gotten) and the consent of their brethren.

5. Robert Williams to sell the books he has already printed, but to print no more, unless under the above restrictions.

6. Every preacher who acts as an assistant, to send an account of the work once in six months to the general assistant.

Quest. 1. *How are the preachers stationed?*

Ans.

<i>New York,</i>	Thomas Rankin,	} to change in
<i>Philadelphia,</i>	George Shadford,	
<i>New Jersey,</i>	John King, William Waters.	
<i>Baltimore,</i>	{ Francis Asbury, Robert Strawbridge,	
	{ Abraham Whitworth, Joseph Yearbry.	
<i>Norfolk,</i>	William Wright.	
<i>Peterburg,</i>	Robert Williams.	

Quest. 2. *What numbers are there in the society?*

New York,	180	Maryland,	400	
Philadelphia,	180		Virginia,	100
New Jersey,	200			
			(Preachers, 10.)	1160

CHAPTER II.

Progress of Religion in general—Contemplated separation—Union confirmed—Notice of the yearly conferences to the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

During the year 1773 there was a considerable revival of religion on the Eastern shore of Maryland, especially in Kent county, where many souls were awakened and brought to the knowledge of God. There was a class formed also in New Rochelle this year, about twenty five miles North of New York. There was some revival also in Baltimore; and in November the society at Fell's Point engaged to build a meeting-house. The first meeting-house that was built by the Methodists in Baltimore, was that at Fell's Point. At present, (1809) we have five meeting-houses in Baltimore: four for the white people, and one for the blacks.

In the beginning of the year 1774, John King, an Englishman, came first to the south parts of Virginia, where his labors were made a blessing to many people. He was a sensible, zealous preacher, and was very useful while he continued to travel.

1774.—In February, this year, the Methodists engaged to build a meeting-house in Baltimore town, and on the eighteenth day of April the foundation of the house was laid in *Lovely-lane*. The first quarterly meeting that was ever held in the town of Baltimore was on Tuesday the third of May in this year.

The first meeting-house that was ever built by the Methodists on the Eastern shore of Maryland, was in Kent county, about nine miles below Chester town, in the spring of 1774, and was called Kent meeting-house. Many of the wicked neighbors were violently opposed to the building of that house; and after the workmen had prepared the frame in order to raise it the next day, some evil designing men came in the night, and broke the rafters to pieces, to prevent the house from being raised. But the workmen went on nevertheless, and the Lord prospered his work among the people, and there has been an established society in that place ever since.

1774.—The second conference was held this year in Philadelphia, on the 25th day of May. There were six questions asked at that conference.

Q. 1. Who are admitted this year? i. e. into full connection. There were five.

Q. 2. Who are admitted on trial this year? There were seven.

Q. 3. Who are assistants this year? There were nine.

Q. 4. Are there any objections to any of the preachers?

A. They were examined one by one.

Q. 5. How are the preachers stationed this year?

Q. 6. What numbers are there in society?

A. 2073.

This conference fixed the allowance of each travelling preacher, at six pounds Pennsylvania currency, (or 16 dollars) per quarter.

The following preachers were received: Philip Gatch and Philip Ebert. They were admitted into full connection this year, though their names are not in the last years minutes.

There were also seven received on trial, viz. William Duke, John Wade, Daniel Ruff, Edward Drumgole, Isaac Rollins, Robert Lindsay Samuel Spragg: making nine new preachers in all.

This year the three following circuits were formed, to which were appointed the following preachers:

<i>Chester,</i>	Daniel Ruff, Joseph Yearbry.
<i>Kent,</i>	Abraham Waitworth.
<i>Frederick,</i>	Philip Gatch, William Duke

The increase of members was 913.

As Thomas Rankin was the general assistant, he was to be supported where he spent his time: he was appointed for Philadelphia, and Mr. Asbury in New York.

In the beginning of this year, on Sunday the 2 of January, after commending the Americans to God, Mr. Boardman and Mr. Pilmore embarked at New York for England. Mr. Boardman lived about eight years afterwards, and died in peace.

In the beginning of this year, 1774, R. Williams began to form societies in Virginia, and made out a plan for a six weeks circuit, which extended from Petersburg, to the south over Roanoke River, some distance into North Carolina. From the conference, three preachers came to that circuit, John King, John Wade, and Isaac Rollins: these preachers were blessed among the people and were made a blessing to them in their turn; and in the latter part of the year, there was a most remarkable revival of religion in most parts of the circuit. Christians were much united, and much devoted to God; and sinners were greatly alarmed, and many of them truly changed both in heart and life. The preachers had not only large congregations to hear them in the day time, but also in the night when meetings were appointed. Indeed, the Lord wrought wonders among us during that year.

The conference took in two preachers besides the two from Europe, viz. John Cooper, William Glendenning, which make an addition of four.

In the course of this year there was a gracious work of God in several places; but in none so equal that which took place in Brunswick circuit, where George Shadford was travelling at that time. It was quite common for sinners to be seized with a trembling and shaking, and from that to fall down on the floor as if they were dead: and many of them have been convulsed from head to foot, while others have retained the use of their tongues so as to pray for mercy, while they were lying helpless on the ground or floor.

The Christians too were sometimes so overcome with the presence and love of God, as not to be able to stand on their feet. It was truly affecting to see them collecting round the penitent sinners, and praying for them one after another, and sometimes two or three together at the same time, until some of the mourners would get converted; and then to

see the young converts leaping up with streaming eyes, and catching in their arms those that were nearest to them, and calling upon all present to praise God for what he had done for their souls. In that revival there were some things which might be called imprudent; yet there were so many souls brought to God, that it was thought to be dangerous to try to stop the irregularities, for fear of stopping that gracious work which the Lord was so strangely carrying on. There were above 600 members added to the society in that circuit in the course of that year.

Mr. Jarratt, the church Clergyman, was very useful in that revival of religion; and his heart was closely united to the Methodists. He would frequently preach, meet the classes, hold love-feasts, and administer the Lord's supper among them. He was an eye witness of this work; and as it was the greatest revival of religion that had ever been known in that part of the country, I think it will be a satisfaction to many people, to give them some farther account of it.

1775.—In the latter end of this year, there was as great a revival of religion in the south parts of *Virginia*, as perhaps was ever known in country places in so short a time; but it became still more considerable in January, 1776. Mr G Shadford then preached in *Virginia*; and while the ears of the people were opened by novelty, God sent his word home upon their hearts. Many sinners were powerfully convinced, and cried for mercy. The news of convictions and conversions was common; and the people of God were inspired with new life and vigor, by the happiness of others. But in a little time they were made thoroughly sensible, that they themselves stood in need of a deeper work of grace in their hearts, than they had yet experienced, and entreated God with strong cries and tears, to save them from the remains of inbred sin; and so to "circumcise their hearts," that they might "love him with all their souls," and serve him with all their strength.

Many who had long neglected the means of grace, now flocked to hear, not only the preachers, but also the exhorters and leaders. And whether there was preaching or not, the Lord's power was still among the people. And it was found that prayer meetings were singularly useful in promoting the work of God.

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This out-pouring of the spirit extended itself, more or less, through most of the circuits, which takes in a circumference of between four and five hundred miles; and the work went on with a pleasing progress till the beginning of May; when a quarterly meeting was held at Boisseau's (commonly called Bushill's) chapel, about twelve miles from Petersburg. At that meeting the windows of heaven were opened indeed, and the rain of divine influence continued to pour down for more than forty days.

The multitude that attended on this occasion, returned home alive to God, and spread the flame through their respective neighborhoods; which ran from family to family, so that within four weeks several hundreds found the peace of God; and scarce any conversation was to be heard, but concerning the things of God. In many large companies one careless person could not be seen; and the far greater part seemed perfectly happy in a clear sense of the love of God.

This work in a very short time spread through *Dinwiddie, Amelia, Brunswick, Sussex, Prince George, Lunenburg, and Mecklenburg* counties.

The work was so great on the last day of the quarterly meeting, that they continued in the meeting-house till night, and then sent for candles, and continued till some time in the night before they broke up.

The work of God thus increased on every side, and more preachers were soon wanting. And the Lord raised up several young men, who were exceeding useful as local preachers.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, the 30 and 31 days of July, a quarterly meeting was held at Mabury's dwelling house in *Brunswick* (now *Greensville*) county. No meeting-house in *Virginia* could have held the people. We had a large arbor in the yard, which would shade from the sun, two or three thousand people. The first day was a blessed season; but the second day was a day never to be forgotten. We held the love-feast under the arbor in open air; the members of the society took their seats, and other people stood all around them by hundreds. The place was truly awful by reason of the presence of the Lord. Many of the members spoke; and while some declared how the Lord had justified them freely, others declared how and when the blood of Jesus had cleansed them from all sin. So clear, so full, and

so strong was their testimony, that while some were speaking their experience, hundreds were in tears, and others vehemently crying to God, for pardon or holiness.

1776.—On the 21 day of May, the fourth Conference was held in Baltimore. This was the first time that the preachers ever held a conference in that town. At that time there were four new circuits added, three of which were in *Virginia*; viz: *Fairfax*, *Hanover*, and *Pittsylvania*. The other was called *Carolina*, as it lay in the state of *North Carolina*. The two circuits which had been formed in the state of *New Jersey*, were now put together, and called *New Jersey* in the minutes.—*Norfolk* was left out of the minutes altogether, on account of the war, which had so distressed the town, that we could not keep a preacher in that station.

There were nine preachers received this year which were the following:

Nicholas Waters, John Sigman, Joseph Heartly, Francis Poythress, James Foster, Freeborn Garrattson, Thomas M'Clure, Isham Tatum, William Wren.

To the four new circuits were appointed the following preachers, viz. To *Fairfax*, Wm. Waters, Thos. M'Clure, Adam Fornerdon. (*) *Carolina*, Edward Drumgole, Francis Poythress, Isham Tatum. *Pittsylvania*, Isaac Rollins.

Hanover, Philip Gatch, John Sigman.

There were twenty-five itinerant preachers appointed to the different circuits this year; the Conference had admitted on trial eleven young preachers.

This Conference appointed a day of fasting, to be on the 26 of July.

On the 4 of July, 1776, the United States of America were declared by Congress to be *Free and Independent States*.

The Methodists met with some particular persecutions this year.—Mr. Asbury says on the 20 day of June, "I was fined near Baltimore five pounds for preaching the gospel." It was with great difficulty that our preachers could travel their circuits, on account of the war which

(*) The reception of this preacher is not noticed in the minutes of this year nor the next following. Hence it is probable he was not a regular Itinerant.

was spreading through the land. What made the matter worse than it would otherwise have been, was, our head preachers were all from Europe, and some of them were imprudent in speaking too freely against the proceedings of the Americans.

1777.—The fifth conference was held at Doer-Creek meeting-house in Harford county in Maryland, on the 20 day of May. There were two new circuits taken in at that time, namely, *Sussex* and *Amelia*, in Virginia. Both of them were taken off from *Brunswick*; and some new places were taken into the plan. There were two more circuits taken on the minutes which had been left off the year before, viz. *Norfolk* and *Chester*. In all, there were fifteen circuits this year, and thirty-five travelling preachers to travel in them. There was no preacher appointed to *New York*, the place being so much distressed by the war, that the preachers could not travel in safety. The subject was therefore brought before the Conference and decided by the following question and answer:

Quest. As the present distress is such, are the preachers resolved to take no step to detach themselves from the work of God for the ensuing year?

Ans. We purpose, by the grace of God, not to take any step that may separate us from the brethren, or from the blessed work in which we are engaged.

This year there was an addition of 14 preachers upon trial, viz.

Caleb B. Pedicord, Hollis Hanson, Robert Wooster, Joseph Cromwell, Thomas S. Chew, John Tunnell, Samuel Strong, William Gill, John Littlejohn, Edward Pride, Le Roy Cole, John Dickins, Reuben Ellis, Edward Bailey, 14.

The preachers appointed to the two new circuits were as follows:

<i>Amelia</i> ,	}	Edward Drumgold, Joseph Reese,
		Rheuben Ellis.
<i>Sussex</i> ,		Philip Gatch, Hollis Hanson.

The increase in the societies was 2047

At this time it was not customary to publish in the minutes the deaths of preachers, nor their location. It cannot therefore be precisely ascertained, whether those that retired were called away by death or some other cause.

Some of the British preachers who were at that conference, intended to return to England; but they agreed to stay and continue preaching among the Americans, until their way should be quite open and clear for them to return to their native country. About the middle of September, Mr. Rankin and Mr. Rodda left the continent, and sailed for Europe. But some time before they embarked, Mr. Rodda had taken some imprudent steps in favor of the Tories; a company of them having collected together in Delaware state, below Philadelphia. Mr. Rodda's conduct brought many sufferings and much trouble on the Methodist preachers and people.

1778.—The sixth conference was in *Leesburgh*, in *Virginia*, on the 19th day of May; at which time they added six new circuits. Four of them were in *Virginia*, *Berkley*, *Fluvannah*, *James-City*, and *Lunenburg*. And in *North Carolina*, the preachers divided the one that was there before, so as to form three circuits, and they were now called *Roanoke*, *Tar-River*. and *New-Hope*.

The number of preachers received this year was 10, viz.

Henry Willis, John Beck, Richard Joy, Philip Adams, William Moore, John Atkins, James O'Kelly, Richard Oghurn, Daniel Duval

The new circuits taken in were supplied with the following preachers:

Berkley, Edward Bailey,

Havanna, Isham Tatum, Richard Joy.

Lunenburg, James Foster.

James City, Isaac Rollins.

In the return of members this year, we found we had lost in numbers 873. This was the first time that we came short of the old number given in the preceding year. This decrease was wholly owing to the breaches made upon many societies and circuits by the distress of war; and some of our preachers and scruples of conscience about taking the oath of allegiance in the different states where they labored, and of course were forced to leave their stations.

This was a year of distress, and uncommon troubles. The war on one hand, and persecution on the other, the preachers were separated from their flocks, and all conspired to increase the burden of Christians.

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had kept a day of private fasting and prayer with Mr. Asbury, in order to know the will of God. He then said he saw his way clear to return to England. Mr. Asbury saw it best to abide in America; so they parted, and each one acted as he thought right.

On the fifth of March, Mr. Asbury began to lie by at Thomas White's, in the Delaware state, where he shut himself up. Speaking of himself, he says, "On conscientious principles I was a non-juror, and could not preach in the state of Maryland; and therefore withdrew to the Delaware state, where the clergy were not required to take the state oath: though with a clear conscience, I could have taken the oath of the Delaware state, had it been required; and would have done it, had I not been prevented by a tender fear of hurting the scrupulous consciences of others."

"My compelled seclusion, in the beginning of the war, in the state of Delaware, was in no wise a season of inactivity; on the contrary, except about two months of retirement, from the direst necessity, it was the most active, the most useful, and most afflictive part of my life. If I spent a few dumb sabbaths—if I did not, for a short time, steal after dark, or through the gloom of the woods, as was my wont, from house to house, to enforce that truth, I (an only child,) had left father and mother, and crossed the ocean to proclaim, I shall not be blamed, I hope, when it is known that my patron, good and respectable Thomas White, who promised me security and secrecy, was himself taken into custody by the light-horse patrol: if such things happened to him, what might I expect, a fugitive and an Englishman? In these very years, we added eighteen hundred members to the society, and laid a broad and deep foundation for the wonderful success Methodism has with in that quarter. The children, and the children's children of those who witnessed my labors and my sufferings in that day of peril and affliction, now rise up by hundreds to bless me.—Where are the witnesses themselves? Alas! there remain not five perhaps, whom I could summon to attest the truth of this statement."

1779.—On the 18 day of May, the seventh conference was held at the *Broken-back church* in *Fluvanna* county in *Virginia*. Previous to this conference, the preachers in the northern states held a preparatory conference at Thomas White's, in Delaware state, in order that

their sentiments might be carried by brother William Waters, to the conference in Virginia: for it was judged to be improper for brother Asbury to leave his solitary retreat, to go to Virginia. However the conference determined that brother Asbury ought to act as *general assistant* in America.

This year there were twelve preachers received.

Joshua Dudley, Philip Cox, Samuel Rawe, Greenberry Green, Charles Hopkins, Henry Ogburn, Richard Garrettson, Lewis Alfrey, Thomas Morris, William Adams, John Hagarty, Andrew Yeargan.

The above conference commenced at Kent, Delaware, April 28th, and adjourned to Fluvannah as mentioned above.

We had a large addition of members to the society this year. In the different circuits we added 2482 members. In some places the work of God spread rapidly, and bore down all before it. But in many places the societies were thrown into great disorder and confusion by reason of the war which continued to rage through the land. Many of the men were drafted, and taken into the army, and many people left their homes to keep out of the way of the enemy, and to save their property, by carrying it with them.

In the course of this year there were great troubles and distresses in the Methodist connection, both among preachers and private members; owing to an unhappy division which took place among the travelling preachers. Many of our travelling preachers in *Virginia* and *North Carolina*, seeing and feeling the want of the instituted means of grace among our societies; (and there being but few church ministers in that part of the country, and most of them strangers to heartfelt religion,) concluded, that if God had called them to preach, he had called them also to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper. They met together at the conference held at the *Broken Back* church this year, and after consulting together, the conference chose a committee for the purpose of ordaining ministers. The committee thus chosen first ordained themselves, and then proceeded to ordain and set apart other preachers for the same purpose, that they might administer the holy ordinances to the church of Christ. The preachers thus ordained, went forth preaching the gospel in their circuits as formerly, and administered the sacraments wherever they went,

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provided the people were willing to partake with them. Most part of our preachers in the south, fell in with this new plan; and as the leaders of the party were very zealous, and the greater part of them very pious men, the private members were influenced by them, and pretty generally fell in with their measures. However, some of the old Methodists would not commune with them; but steadily adhered to their former customs.

The preachers north of *Virginia*, were opposed to this step so hastily taken by their brethren in the south, and made a stand against it, believing that unless a stop could be put to this new mode of proceeding, a separation would take place among the preachers and the people. There was great cause to fear a division, and both parties trembled for the ark of God, and shuddered at the thought of dividing the church of Christ. The preachers in the south were very successful in their ministerial labors, and many souls were brought to God in the latter part of that year; and the christians were very lively in religion. These things all united to confirm the preachers in the belief, that the step they had taken was owned and honored of God. And at that time there was but very little reason to hope that they would ever recede from their new plan, in which they were so well established. But after all they consented for the sake of peace, and the union of the body of Methodists, to drop the ordinances for a season, till Mr. Wesley could be consulted.

It was resolved at this conference that any preacher who received money by subscription, should be *excluded from the Methodist connection*.

1780.—On the 24 day of April, the eighth conference met in *Baltimore*, where the Northern preachers only attended; for the *Virginia* preachers had a conference appointed in that state.

Six preachers were received, viz.

Thomas Foster, Caleb Boyer, John James, James Martin, Micajah Debruler, George Mair.

Three new circuits were formed and supplied with the following preachers.

Dorchester,

Joseph Heartly.

Mecklenburg,

Henry Willis, Moses Peck.

Yadkin,

Andrew Yeargan.

The whole of the conference that met in Baltimore agreed in disapprobating the conduct of the preachers in Virginia, in respect to their ordination, and their administering the ordinances, and concluded that they did not look upon the Virginia preachers as *Methodists* in connection with Mr. Wesley, and that conference; neither could they consider them as such unless they came back to their former standing, and to their elder brethren.

The Baltimore conference then appointed brother Asbury, brother William Waters, and brother Freeborn Garrettson to attend the conference in Virginia, and to inform the preachers in that conference, of what had been determined on in the Baltimore conference; and to let them know withal that the only condition upon which they could be united was, that they, (the Virginia preachers) should suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year; and then all the preachers to meet together, at the next annual conference to be held in Baltimore.

In the spring of the year some time in April, Mr. Asbury left his quiet retreat in Delaware state, where he had been lying by, (and for part of the time at Thomas White's) for two years and one month; and then met with the preachers in conference at Baltimore, as has been already mentioned. He then visited his brethren in Virginia, and attended the conference at the Manakin town, which began on the 8th day of May, 1780. At that time Mr. Asbury had to exert all his powers, and to use all possible prudence in order to bring about a settled peace and union among all the preachers. The most influential preachers in that separation, in favor of the ordinances, were Philip Gatch, John Dickens, and James O'Kelly. These men were much respected for their usefulness in the ministry.

After much contention and distress, Mr. Asbury proposed to the southern preachers a plan for a union, which was this; that they should not administer the ordinances for a twelve month, and that they should all then meet together in conference at Baltimore—and in the course of the year they would write to Mr. Wesley in England, and lay their situation before him, and get his advice: the plan took with the Virginia preachers, and they consented to the proposal. By this prudent step, a deviation was prevented, and a blessed union restored.

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The preachers pretty generally went from that conference to their circuits, with thankful hearts that the breach was healed, and union restored to the connection.

At this conference, [1780] the following questions with their answers were proposed; which I here give place for the purpose of showing that depth of christian piety and firm integrity that prevailed among them.

Quest. 7. Ought not all the Assistants to see to the settling of all the preaching houses by trustees, and order the said trustees to meet once in half a year, and keep a register of their proceedings; if there are any vacancies choose new trustees, for the better security of the houses, and let all the deeds be drawn in substance after that in the printed minutes?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 8. Shall all the travelling Preachers take a license from every conference, importing that they are Assistants or helpers in connection with us?

Ans. Yes,

Quest. 9. Shall brother Asbury sign them in behalf of the conference?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 10. Ought it to be strictly enjoined on all our local preachers and exhorters, that no one presume to speak in public without taking a note every quarter (if required) and be examined by the Assistant with respect to his life, his qualification and reception.

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 11. Ought not all our preachers to make conscience of rising at four, and if not, yet at five: (is it not a shame for a preacher to be in bed till six in the morning?)

Ans. Undoubtedly they ought.

Quest. 12. Shall we continue in close connection with the church, [of England] and press our people to a closer communion with her?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 13. Will this conference grant the privilege to all the friendly clergy of the church of England, at the request or desire of the peo-

ple, to preach or administer the ordinances in our preaching houses or chapels?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 14. What provision shall we make for the wives of married preachers?

Ans. They shall receive an equivalent with their husbands in quarterage, if they stand in need.

Quest. 15. Ought not our preachers, if possible, to speak to every person one by one in the families where they lodge, before prayer, if time will permit; or give a family exhortation after reading a chapter?

Ans. They ought.

Quest. 16. Ought not this conference to require those travelling Preachers who hold slaves, to give promises, to set them free?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 17. Does this conference acknowledge that slavery is contrary to the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing that which we would not others should do unto us and ours? Do we pass our disapprobation on all our friends who keep slaves, and advise their freedom?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 18. Shall we recommend our quarterly meetings to be held on Saturdays and Sundays when convenient?

Ans. Agreed.

Quest. 19. Shall not the Friday following every quarter-day, be appointed as a day of fasting?

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 20. Does the whole conference disapprove the step our brethren have taken in Virginia.

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 21. Do we look upon them no longer as Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley and us till they come back.

Ans. Agreed.

Quest. 22. Shall brother Asbury, Garrettson and Waters, attend the Virginia Conference, and inform them of our proceedings in this, and receive their answer.

Ans. Yes.

Quest. 23. Do we disapprove of the practice of distilling grain into liquor? Shall we disown our friends who will not renounce this practice?

Ans. Yes.

Mr. Asbury travelled through the different circuits in the south parts of *Virginia*, and from thence into *North Carolina*, through Roanoke and Tar River, and by his being often with the preachers and among the people in the south, the divisive spirit died away; and the preachers and people by degrees became more reconciled to the old plan, and to the old preachers; and peace and harmony were once more established throughout the connection.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which were found among the preachers on account of the ordinances, there was a gracious revival of religion in many places this year, and especially on the Eastern shore of *Maryland*. Yet in many places the circuits and societies were so much interrupted by the armies, both of our friends and our enemies which were marching through the country, that we had not as many members in society at conference, as we had the year before. Indeed, some of the circuits were wholly forsaken, and no return of the members could be made.

Rev. Freeborn Garrettson, in his journal, says,—“Thursday, Feb. 10, 1780, I arose very early in the morning, and addressed the throne of grace. The Lord wonderfully refreshed my soul, and I felt a willingness to suffer whatever he might permit to come upon me for the sake of his cause. I opened my mind to Mr. Asbury, who was at Mr. W's, and he seemed very desirous I should accept the invitation. He then commended me to the Lord in prayer, and I set out in good spirits with a strong hope that good would be done. The first day I got half way, and had a comfortable night. February 11 was a day of deep exercise. Are others distressed in the way that I have been? I travelled on seemingly with the weight of a mill stone. I wept bitterly as I passed along, and several times stopped my horse intending to turn back, but was still induced to pursue my way. I got to my dear friend Mr. Arey's some time before night; and the burden which I felt all the way left me at his door. The dismissal of it was perceptible, for my spirit did rejoice in God my Saviour. I was conducted into a private room, where the Lord let me know that I was in the very place in which he would have me.

"In the evening the family were gathered together for prayer: I shall never forget the time: I suppose about twelve white and black were present. The power of the Lord came among us: Mrs. Arey was so filled with the new wine of Christ's kingdom, that she sunk to the floor, blessing and praising the Lord. And many of the blacks were much wrought upon. This night was a time of great refreshment to me."

The three following days Mr. Garrettson preached in the neighborhood to numerous and attentive congregations, most of whom were greatly affected under the word, and a gracious work commenced among the people. Proceeding to another part of the country, he observes, "One man was deeply affected only by seeing us. I preached at Colonel Vickery's, a clever man, who afterwards became a great friend to us, and to himself too. The fields are white for harvest, but the wicked rage, and invent lies and mischief. The county court was sitting, and some of the heads of it were determined by some means to clear the place of such a troublesome fellow. For a pretence, they charged me with toryism; and I was informed, gave a very wicked man liberty, and promised to protect him in taking my life. For this purpose he was to lie in wait for me the next day. It providentially reached my ears that night before I went to bed, and as the wicked seemed thus inclined, I thought it expedient to withdraw to Mr. Arey's, where I remained two days; but being pressed in spirit, I could stay no longer, so I went to another part of the county. Many came out to hear, and the word was still attended with power to some hearts.

"Saturday 25, my spirit was solemn, and I could not but expect that something uncommon would transpire. I withdrew to the woods, and spent much time before the Lord. I preached with freedom to a weeping flock, my friend Arey, who was a magistrate, and man of note in the county, accompanying me to the place. In the evening we were repairing to his house, being about to preach there the next day; when a company of men, who had embodied themselves, waylaid me, with an intention to take me to jail. About sunset they surrounded us, and called me their prisoner. They beat my horse, cursed and swore, but did not strike me. Some time after night, they took me to a magistrate who was as much my enemy as any of them. When

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I was judged, and condemned for preaching the gospel, the keeper of the peace, who sat in his great chair, immediately wrote a mittimus and ordered me to jail. I asked him if he had never heard of an affair in Talbot county. Brother I. Hartley, (*) was committed to jail for the same crime, that of preaching the gospel; soon after the magistrate was taken sick unto death, and sent for this same preacher out of confinement to pray for him. He then made this confession, 'When I sent you to jail,' said he, 'I was fighting against God, and now I am about to leave the world, pray for me.' His family were called in, and he said to his wife, 'This is a servant of God; and when I die, I request he may preach at my funeral. You need not think I have not my senses; this is the true faith.' He then gave brother Hartley charge of his family, and desired them to embrace that profession.—Now, said I, I beseech you to think seriously of what you have done, and prepare to meet God. Be you assured, I am not ashamed of the cross of Christ, for I consider it an honor to be imprisoned for the gospel of my Lord. My horse was brought, and about twelve of the company were to attend me to jail. They surrounded me, and two, one on each side, held my horse's bridle. The night was very dark; and before we got a mile from the house, on a sudden there was a very uncommon flash of lightning, and in less than a minute all my foes were dispersed: my friend Arey was a little before the company, so that I was left alone. I was reminded of that place of scripture, where our Lord's enemies fell to the ground; and then this portion of Scripture came to me, "Stand still and see the salvation of God." It was a cloudy night, and had rained a little. I sat on my horse alone, and though I called several times there was no answer. I went on, but had not got far before I met my friend Mr. Arey, returning to look for

(*) Mr. Garrettson adds the following particulars in a note: "Brother Hartley, a dear good man, and an excellent preacher, was so pressed in spirit, he could no longer contain, and the rulers laid hands on him, and confined him in Talbot Jail; but he preached powerfully through the window. The blessed God owned his word, and he was instrumental in raising a large society. He was confined a long time, till finally they thought he might as well preach without as within jail. Shortly after he was set at liberty, he married a pious young lady, and located. He did not live many years, but while he did live, he was very useful and adorned his Christian and ministerial character. He died in the Lord, and went to glory."

me. He had accompanied me throughout the whole of this affair.— We rode on, talking of the goodness of God till we came to a little cottage by the road side, where we found two of my guards almost frightened out of their wits. I told them if I was to go to jail that night, we ought to be on our way, for it was getting late. ‘O! no,’ said one of them, ‘let us stay until the morning.’ My friend and I rode on, and it was not long ere we had a beautiful clear night. We had not rode far before they collected again, from whence I know not. However, they appeared to be amazingly intimidated, and the leader of the company rode by the side of me, and said, ‘Sir, do you think the affair happened on our account! I told him that I would have him to judge for himself; reminding him of the awfulness of the day of judgement, and the necessity there was of preparing to meet the judgment of the whole earth. One of the company swore an oath, and another immediately reproved him, saying, ‘How can you swear at such a time as this?’ At length the company stopped, and one said, ‘We had better give him up for the present;’ so they turned their horses and went back. My friend and I pursued our way. True it is, ‘the wicked are like the troubled sea whose waters cast up mire and dirt. We had not gone far before they pursued us again, and said, ‘We cannot give him up.’ They accompanied us a few minutes, again left us and we saw no more of them that night. A little before midnight, we arrived safe to my friend’s house. Blessed be God, the dear waiting family were looking out, and received us with joy: and we had a precious sweet family meeting. I retired to my room as humble as a little child, praising my great deliverer.

“During the remainder of the night, though asleep, I was transported with the visions, which passed through my mind. I had a confidence in the morning that my beloved Lord would support me. I saw in the visions of the night many sharp and terrible weapons formed against me; but none could penetrate or hurt me; for as soon as they came near me they were turned into feathers, and brushed by me as soft as down.

“Sunday 27, at eleven o’clock many came out to hear the word, and it was expected my enemies would be upon me. I was informed that not a few brought short clubs under their coats to defend me in

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case of an attack, for many had just about religion enough to fight for it. As I was giving out the hymn, standing between the hall and room doors, about twenty of my persecutors came up in a body. I was amazed to see one of them who was an old man, and his head as white as a sheet. The ringleader rushed forward, presented a pistol, and laid hold of me. Blessed be God! my confidence was so strong in him, that I feared none of these things. Some of the audience, who stood next me, gave me a sudden jerk; I was presently in the room, and the door shut. As soon as I could I opened it, and beckoning to my friends, desired that they would not injure my enemies; that I did not want to keep from them, but was willing to go to jail. If I had not spoken in this manner, I believe much blood would have been shed. I began to exhort, and almost the whole congregation were in tears. The women in a particular manner were amazingly agitated. I desired my horse to be got, and I was accompanied to Cambridge, where I was kept in a tavern, from twelve o'clock till near sun set, surrounded by the wicked; and it was a great mercy of God that my life was preserved.

"I told my enemies not to give themselves any uneasiness, for I thought it an honor to suffer in the cause of Christ. After my horse and baggage were ready, and I was equipped for the expedition, we started two and two. My friend and I rode together, and half the company before, and half behind. This was on the Lord's day. When we came to the hotel, my friend and I were permitted to occupy a room adjoining the large public room. The inhabitants of the place seemed to be coming and going the whole of the day, and kept the room filled the whole of the time, drinking and rejoicing over their prey. My friend was a young soldier, and the trial was too great for him. One of the company, a stout man, was about to break into abuse, (for their hatred against him was almost as great as it was against me,) and actually did strike at him with all his force with a large loaded whip, and in all probability would have killed him, had not the whip struck the top of the door. My friend was young and active, and he instantly sprung, and as quick as a flash, sent his fist into the fellow's temple, who like a Goliath under David's sling, fell flat to the floor, and there was a roar of laughter through

the house, and a declaration, 'the Methodists will fight.' At a convenient time I got my friend round the neck, and wept and told him he had grieved my spirit. He said he was sorry on account of grieving me; but that it was almost as sudden as thought that it appeared to him that his arm was nerved for the purpose, and that he did not feel as if he had done wrong. And I must say I think they behaved rather better afterwards.

A little before night I was thrust into prison, and my enemies took away the key, that none might minister to my necessities. I had a dirty floor for my bed, my saddle bag for my pillow, and two large windows open, with a cold east wind blowing upon me: but I had great consolation in the Lord, and could say, 'Thy will be done.' During my confinement here, I was much drawn out in prayer, reading, writing and meditation. I believe I had the prayers of my good friend Mr. Asbury; and the book which he sent me, Mr. Rutherford's Letter during his confinement, together with the soul comforting and strengthening letter which I received from my pious friends, were rendered a great blessing to me. The Lord was remarkably good to me, so that I experienced a prison to be like a paradise; and I had a heart to pray for my worst enemies. My soul was so exceedingly happy, I scarcely knew how my days and nights passed away. The bible was never sweeter to me. I never had a greater love for God's dear children. I never saw myself more unworthy. I never saw a greater beauty in the cross of Christ; for I thought I could, if required, go cheerfully to the stake in so good a cause. I was not at all surprised with the cheerfulness of the ancient martyrs, who were able in the flames to clap their glad hands. Sweet moments I had with my dear friends who came to the prison window.

Happy the man who finds the grace,
The blessing of God's chosen race,
The wisdom coming from above,
The faith which sweetly works by love.

"Many, both acquaintances and strangers, came to visit me from far and near, and I really believe I never was the means of doing more good for the time: for the country seemed to be much alarmed, and the Methodists among whom I had labored, to whom I had written many epistles, were much stirred up to pray for me. I shall

never forget the kindness I received from dear brother and sister Arey. They suffered much for the cause of God in Dorset county, for which, if faithful, they will be amply compensated in a better world.

"Mr. and Mrs. Arey were remarkably kind, and sent me every thing which was necessary. My brother Thomas, who lived about a hundred miles off, heard of my imprisonment, and came to see me, and brought a letter from Judge White to Mr. Harrison, a gentleman of note, who was the greatest enemy I had in town. After reading the letter, he not only invited my brother to put up in his house, but went and got the prison key, and my brother came in, and next morning he came to the jail and invited him out to breakfast, and told me he would do any thing he could for me. Before this he was as bitter as gall. One day, when an old quaker friend came to see me, he came and abused him, and strove to drive him away: the quaker made him ashamed of his conduct. My enemies sent a spy who feigned himself a penitent, and as I was coming down stairs to converse with him through the window, it came powerfully to my mind, he is an enemy sent if possible to draw something out of you concerning the war. He cried, and said he was a miserable sinner, that he was afraid he would go to hell, and wanted to know what he should do to be saved. I told him to leave off swearing and drunkenness, and return, and I would give him farther directions. I afterwards found he was the very character I had supposed.

"My crime of preaching the gospel was so great, that no common court could try my cause. There appeared to be a probability of my staying in jail till a general court, which would not convene in nearly twelve months. My good friend Mr. Asbury went to the governor of Maryland, and he befriended me: had I been his brother, he could not have done more for me. The manner in which he proceeded to relieve me was this,—I was an inhabitant of Maryland by birth and property. I could likewise claim a right in the Delaware state, which state was more favorable to such *pestilent fellows*. I was carried before the governor of Delaware. This gentleman was a friend to our society. He met me at the door, and welcomed me in, assuring me he would do any thing he could to help me.

A recommendatory letter was immediately dispatched to the governor of Maryland; and I was entirely at liberty. O! how wonderfully did the people of Dorset rage: but the word of the Lord spread all through that county, and hundreds, both white and black have experienced the love of Jesus. Since that time, I have preached to more than three thousand people in one congregation, not far from the place where I was imprisoned; and many of my worst enemies have bowed to the sceptre of our sovereign Lord. The labors of Caleb Peddicord and Chew were much blessed in this place, in the first reviving and spreading of the work.

"After I left my confinement, I was more than ever determined to be for God and none else. I travelled extensively. The Lord was with me daily, and my spirit rejoiced in God my Saviour. In visiting the young societies, after I left jail, we had blessed hours: for many came to hear, sinners cried for mercy, and God's dear people rejoiced."

1781.—On the 24th day of April, the ninth conference met in Baltimore. But previous to this, a few preachers on the Eastern Shore, held a *little conference* in Delaware state, near Choptank, to make some arrangements for those preachers who could not go with them, and then adjourned (as they called it) to Baltimore; so upon the whole it was considered but one conference, at which six new circuits were taken in.

At this Conference there appears to be an addition of twenty preachers and an increase of 2035 members! The six new circuits and their respective preachers are as follows:

Kent in Delaware, } Wm. Gill, John Coleman,
 } Le Roy Cole, John Tunnel.
Talbot, Henry Willis, Jeremiah Lambert.
Kent in Maryland, Richard Ivy, David Abbott.
Little York, Philip Cox.
Colvert, Nelson Reed.
Isle of Wight, Beverly Allen, James Hawe.
Brunswick, Caleb Boyer.

The greatest revival of religion among us this year, appeared to have been on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and in some parts of

Delaware state: where there were many, very many precious souls brought into the liberty of the children of God.

There was also a blessed revival of religion in *Virginia*, and in some parts of *North Carolina*: but the war was so distressing in those parts, that the preachers could not constantly attend their circuits; and many of the societies were dispersed, and prevented from assembling together. Many of the male members were drafted, and when the militia were called out, they had to go into the army to fight, in the defence of their country. Some of them lost their lives, and some made shipwreck of the faith, and but few of them returned home with as much religion as they formerly possessed. Some of the Methodists were bound in conscience not to fight; and no threatenings could compel them to bear arms or hire a man to take their places. In consequence of this, some of them were *whipped*, and some were fined, and some imprisoned; others were sent home, and many were much persecuted. The societies had much to discourage them, and but little to help them forward in religion. Yet, notwithstanding all their difficulties, they stood fast as one body, and waxed stronger and stronger in the Lord.

1782.—The tenth conference was held: which began at Ellis's Chapel, in Sussex county in *Virginia*, on the 27 day of April, and adjourned to Baltimore on the 21 day of May.

Seven preachers were added and three circuits formed, viz:

South Branch, James Mallory, John Baldwin, James Haw.

Somerset, Freeborn Garrettson, Woolman Hickson, John Magary.

Pennsylvania, Wm. Glendenning, John Coleman.

The work had so increased and spread, that it was now found necessary to have a conference in the south every year, continuing the conference in the north as usual. Yet as the conference in the north was of the longest standing, and withal composed of the oldest preachers, it was allowed greater privileges than that in the south; especially in making rules, and forming regulations for the societies.—Accordingly, when any thing was agreed to in the *Virginia* conference, and afterwards disapproved of in the *Baltimore* conference, it was dropped. But if any rule was fixed and determined on at the *Baltimore* conference, the preachers in the south were under the necessity of abi-

ding by it. The southern conference was considered at that time as a convenience, and designed to accommodate the preachers in that part of the work, and to do all the business of a regular conference, except that of making or altering particular rules.

There were twenty-two questions asked and answered; and the last was, "When and where shall our next conferences be held?"—This was the first time that this question was ever found on the minutes. It was now settled and fixed to have two *conferences* in each year.

The 19 question was a very important one, as follows:

"Do the brethren in conference unanimously choose brother Asbury to act according to Mr. Wesley's original appointment, and preside over the American conference and the whole work? A. Yes.

Considering all things, our societies were greatly blessed, and the number of our members greatly increased: and notwithstanding we were scattered, and in some places suffered loss, yet taking the whole connection throughout, we were highly favored of the Lord.

In 1783, the eleventh conference began at Ellis's meeting house, in Sussex county, *Virginia*, on the 6 day of May, and adjourned to *Baltimore* the 27 day of the same month.

We had thirty five circuits, and eighty two preachers to travel in them. We added to the society this year 1955 members. We took nineteen young preachers upon trial, so that all the circuits were well supplied.

Fourteen preachers were received and twelve new circuits formed: They were supplied thus:

Holstein, Jeremiah Lambert.

Guilford, Samuel Dudley, James Gibbons.

Cuswill, Peter-Moriarty, Jesse Lee.

Marsh, Philip Bruce.

Salisbury, Beverly Allen, James Foster, James Hinton.

Nansemond, Richard Ivy.

Bertie, Edward Morris, John Baldwin.

Allegany, Francis Poythress, Benjamin Roberts.

Chester, Reuben Ellis, John Hagerty, Thomas Haskins.

Annamesset, } Thomas Bowen, Philip Cox,
William Thomas, Samuel Breeze.

*Pasquitank, James Martin, Henry Metcalf.
Dover, Wm. Glandening, George Kimble.
Cumberland, John Cooper.*

The following was one of the questions, "Shall our friends be permitted to make spirituous liquors, *sell*, or drink them in drams? Ans. By no means; we think it *wrong* in its nature and consequences; and desire all our preachers to teach the people by precept and example to put away this evil."

At that time it was but seldom known that a Methodist preacher drank spirituous liquors, unless in cases of extreme necessity.

The conference appointed two days for public thanksgiving throughout our connection, for the peace which was established between the United States of *America*, and the *British* nation: for our temporal and spiritual prosperity, and for the glorious revival of the work of God which had taken place among us. The first thanksgiving day was to be on the first Thursday in July, and the second was to be on the first Thursday in October. They also appointed two fast days, the first to be held on the first Friday in the following January; and the second, on the first Friday in April.

The revolutionary war being now closed, and a general peace established, we could go into all parts of the country without fear; and we soon began to enlarge our borders, and to preach in many places where we had not been before. We soon saw the fruit of our labors in the new circuits, and in various parts of the country, even in old places where we had preached in former years with but little success.

One thing in particular, that opened the way for the spreading of the gospel by our preachers was this: during the war, which had continued seven or eight years, many of the members of our societies had, through fear, necessity, or choice, moved into the back settlements, and into new parts of the country: and, as soon as the national peace was settled, and the way was open, they solicited us to come among them; and by their earnest and frequent petitions, both verbal and written, we were prevailed on, and encouraged to go among them: and they were ready to receive us with open hands and willing hearts, and to cry out, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

The intercourse being now open between us and *England*, we

thought there was danger of preachers or members coming from that country, to preach or live among us, whose characters might not be good. In order that we might not be imposed upon, the following regulation was adopted.

Q. "How shall we conduct ourselves towards the European Methodists, should they come to this continent?"

A. We will not receive them without a letter of recommendation, the truth of which we have no reason to doubt."

In the latter part of this year, Mr. Wesley, in *England* wrote a letter to *America*, which agreed with the last minute; the following is an extract from the letter.

Bristol, Oct. 3, 1783.

"1. Let all of you be determined to abide by the methodist doctrine, and discipline, published in the four volumes of sermons and the notes upon the New Testament, together with the large minutes of the conference.

2. Beware of preachers coming from *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, without a full recommendation from me. Three of our travelling preachers here eagerly desire to go to *America*; but I could not approve of it by any means; because I am not satisfied that they thoroughly like either our discipline or doctrine: I think they differ from our judgment, in one or both. Therefore, if these or any others come without my recommendation, take care how you receive them.

3. Neither should you receive any preachers however recommended, who will not be subject to the *American* conference, and cheerfully conform to the minutes both of the *English* and *American* conferences.

4. I do not wish our *American* brethren to receive any, who make any difficulty of receiving *Francis Asbury* as the general assistant.

Undoubtedly the greatest danger to the work of God in *America*, is likely to arise either from preachers coming from *Europe*, or from such as will arise from among yourselves, speaking perverse things, or bringing in among you new doctrines, particularly Calvinism. You should guard against this with all possible care, for it is far easier to keep them out than to thrust them out.

I commend you all to the grace of God, and am your affectionate friend and brother,

JOHN WESLEY."

We agreed, that if any European Methodist preachers should come over recommended by Mr. Wesley, and would be subject to the American conference, preach the Methodist doctrine, keep the circuits they were appointed to, and be subject to Francis Asbury as general assistant, while he stands approved by Mr. Wesley and the conference, we will receive them; but if they walk contrary to the above directions, no appointment shall prevent them from being excluded from our connection.

Eleven preachers were received and thirteen circuits formed, to which were appointed the following preachers respectively:

Halifax, Enoch Matson, Peter Moriarty.

Wilmington, Beverly Allen, James Hinton.

Portsmouth, James Martin.

Camden, Richard Ivy, Wm. Dameron.

Amherst, Thomas Foster, William Jessop.

Orange, Woolman Hickson, James Riggins.

Richmond, John Easter.

Hampton, James Morris.

Bedford, Edward Morris, James Hawe.

Redstone, John Cooper, Samuel Breeze.

Accomac, James White.

Juniatta, Simon Pile.

Long Island, Philip Cox.

Trenton, John Hagarty, Matthew Greentree.

In 1784, the twelfth conference began at Ellis's chapel, in *Virginia*, on the 30 day of April, and ended in Baltimore, on the 28 of May.— It was considered as but one conference, although they met first in *Virginia*, and then adjourned to Baltimore, where the business was finished.

We had a gracious revival of religion this year in many of the frontier circuits, and the way was opening fast for us to enlarge our borders, and to spread the gospel through various places where we had never been before. The call of the people was great, for more laborers to be sent into the harvest.

One of the questions of this conference with the answer was the following:

Quest. How shall we prevent superfluity in dress among our people ?

Ans. Let the preachers carefully avoid every thing of this kind in themselves, and speak frequently and faithfully against it in all our societies.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, TO THE YEAR 1832.

CHAPTER I.

Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S. A.

The Methodists had until this time one *form* both of worship and discipline in every part of the world ; but the independence of these United States of *America*, confirmed by the peace of 1783, occasioned an extraordinary change in this respect. During the war our societies were deprived of the ordinances of *baptism*, and the *Lord's supper* : for the ministers of the church of England had mostly left their parishes : some of them were silenced, others left off preaching, because they could not procure a maintenance by it ; and many more went into the British dominions. From the time of the peace no ecclesiastical authority of any kind was either exercised or claimed by any person or persons whatsoever. In this situation, we desired Mr. Wesley's advice and assistance ; and as he observes, "his scruples being at an end, he conceived himself at perfect liberty to exercise that right which he doubted not God had given him."

At the British conference held at Leeds in July 1784, Mr. Wesley declared his intention of sending *Dr. Coke* and some other preachers to *America*. Mr. *Richard Whatcoat*, and Mr. *Thomas Vasey* offered themselves as missionaries for that purpose, and were accepted. But before they sailed, Mr. *Wesley* wrote to *Dr. Coke* then in *London*, desiring him to meet him in *Bristol*, to receive fuller powers ; and to bring the Rev. Mr. *Creighton* with him. The *Dr.* and Mr. *Creighton* accordingly met him in *Bristol* ; where Mr. *Wesley* with the assistance of *Dr. Coke* and Mr. *Creighton*, ordained *Richard Whatcoat* and Mr. *Thomas Vasey*, presbyters for *America* : and, did

afterwards ordain Dr. *Coke* a superintendant, giving him letters of ordination, under his hand and seal. Previous to this Dr. *Coke* had been ordained a presbyter by a bishop of the church of England.

Dr. *Coke* with Messrs. *Whatcoat* and *Vasey* sailed for *America*, in the month of September, and landed at *New York* on the third day of November.

The organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church took place at the conference held in Baltimore in December 27, 1784.

The proceedings of this conference as contained in the minutes, were as follows.

"As it was unanimously agreed at the conference, that circumstances made it expedient for us to become a separate body under the denomination of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is necessary that we should here assign some reason for so doing.

"The following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Wesley, will afford as good an explanation as can be given on this subject."

Bristol, September 10, 1784.

To Dr. *Coke*, Mr. *Asbury*, and our brethren in *North America*.

"1. By an uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of *North America* are totally disjoined from the British empire, and erected into Independent States. The English government has no authority over them either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of *Holland*. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the state assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation, some thousands of the inhabitants of these States, desire my advice: and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"2. Lord KING's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time, to exercise this right by ordaining part of our travelling preachers, but I have still refused, not only for peace sake, but because I was determined, as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"3. But the case is widely different between England and North

America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together there are none either to baptize, or administer the Lord's supper. Here therefore my scruples are now at an end: and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order, and invade no man's right, by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

"I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury, to be joint *superintendants*, over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as *elders* among them by baptising and administering the Lord's Supper.

"5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"6. It has indeed been proposed, to desire the *English* bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceeding; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? As our *American* brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state, and from the *English* hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty, simply to follow the scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty, wherewith God has so strangely made them free.

"JOHN WESLEY."

The following is a copy of the letters, testimonials, delivered by Mr. Wesley to Dr. Coke, after his ordination, agreeably to the advice of Mr. Fletcher. It was taken by Mr. Drew, from the original, in Mr. Wesley's own hand writing preserved among the papers of Dr. Coke.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, I John Wesley, late fellow of Lincoln college in Oxford, presbyter of the church of England, sendeth greeting.

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"Whereas many of the people in the southern provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same church: and whereas there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers—

"Know all men, that I John Wesley, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands and prayer, (being assisted by other ordained ministers,) Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four.

"JOHN WESLEY."

"Therefore at this conference," says the minutes, "we formed ourselves into an independent church, and following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the episcopal mode of church government, we thought it best to become an Episcopal church, making the Episcopal office elective, and the elected superintendent, or Bishop, amenable to the body of ministers or preachers."

Mr. Asbury was appointed a superintendent by Mr. Wesley; yet he would not submit to be ordained unless he could be voted in by the conference. When it was put to vote he was unanimously chosen. He was then ordained deacon, and then elder, and afterwards superintendent before the end of the conference. At the request of Mr. Asbury Mr. Oterbine, a German minister, who was a pious man, also assisted in his ordination, by the laying on of hands with the other ministers.

The preachers in connection at this time as published in the minutes are the following, viz:

Quest. 1. Who are the superintendants of our church.

Ans. Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury.

Quest. 2. Who are the elders.

Ans. Richard Whatcoat, Thomas Vasey, Freeborn Garretton, Thomas S. Chew, William Gill, John Hagerty, Reuben Ellis, James O'Kelly, Richard Ivy, John Tunnel, Beverly Allen, Henry Willis, Caleb Boyer, James O. Cromwell, Enoch Matson, Nelson Reed, Jeremiah Lambert, John Foster, Ignatius Pigman, John Baxter.

Quest. 3. Who are the deacons.

Ans. John Dickins, Michael Ellis, Philip Bruce, William Ringold.

Quest. 4. Who are the assistants.

Ans. All the deacons (and besides them) Joseph Everett, John Cooper, Philip Cox, Ira Ellis, Samuel Dudley, James Hinton, William Cannon, John Baldwin, Henry Ogburn, Thomas Humphries, James White, James Haw, George Moore, Edward Morris, William Thomas, Simon Pile, Thomas Curtis, Woolman Hickson, Thomas Haskins, Richard Swift, William Phœbus, William Glendenning, Adam Cloud, John Major, Robert Cloud, Edward Drumgole, Peter Moriarty, William Dameron, Thomas Andrews, Thomas Bowen, William Partidge.

Quest. 5. Who are admitted into full connection.

Ans. Jesse Lee, Thomas Humphries, James Hinton, Richard Swift, William Dameron, William Phœbus, Thomas Bowen, William Ringold, Thomas Anderson, Samuel Green.

Quest. 6. Who remain on trial.

Ans. David Jefferson, Isaac Smith, Simon Pile, John Smith, Thomas Jackson, Elijah Ellis, Samuel Breeze, John Robertson, Matthew Greentree, William Jessep, Thomas Ware, James Riggan, James Thomas.

Quest. 7. Who are admitted on trial.

Ans. Mark Whitaker, Jeremiah Mastin, Henry Bingham, Hope Hull, George Noseworthy, Ezekiel Cooper, Stephen Johnson, Ezekiah Bonham, Levin Ross, Thomas Williamson, Stephen Dickins, John Freeman, Michael Gilbert, Shores Bright, Joshua Hartly, Eliazer Hathaway, Robert Sparks, William Steens, Amos G. Thompson, Robert Ayres, John Street, Jacob Brush.

Quest. 8. Who desist from travelling?

Ans. Samuel Rowe, James Morris, James Martin.

Quest. 9. Who are laid aside?

Ans. Lee Roy Cole.

Quest. 10. Who have died this year?

Ans. Caleb B. Pedicord, George Mair.

Besides those preachers mentioned as Elders, Deacons, &c. the following were also in connection and received appointments.

Henry Jones, James Kenney, John Fidler, Wilson Lee, John Paup, Francis Poythress, Jonathan Forrest, George Moore, Joseph Cromwell, Moses Hurley, Joseph Wyatt, Robert Cann.

There were six circuits taken in at this Conference, which are as follows, with their respective preachers.

Georgia.—Beverly Allen,

Charleston.—John Tunnel,

George Town.—Woolman Hickson,

New River.—Philip Bruce.

Shelburne.—Freeborn Garrettson.

Lancaster.—Joseph Everett, Levin Ross.

Fort Ross.—James O. Cramwell.

Antigua.—Jeremiah Lambert, John Baxter.

Northampton.—Philip Cox, Moses Hurley.

The number in society was - - - 18,000

Number of travelling preachers. - - - 104

Being now formed into a church, a regular plan of proceeding was laid, and a form of discipline drawn up. In the minutes of this conference, there were eighty-one questions with answers, a few of which I shall take notice of. If any one wishes to see the whole, he may read the minutes of that general conference.

This being the beginning of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it will be necessary to take particular notice of those regulations or rules, which were formed at that time, especially such as had not been previously practiced by us.

Q. 2. "What can be done in order to the future union of the Methodists?"

A. "During the life of the Reverend Mr. Wesley, we acknowledged ourselves his Sons in the Gospel, ready in matters belonging to the church government, to obey his commands. And we do engage after his death, to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in *America*, and the political interests of these states, to preserve and promote our Union with the Methodists in *Europe*."

This engagement to obey Mr. Wesley's commands, "in matters belonging to church government," was afterwards the cause of some uneasiness; which will be noticed in its proper place.

Q. 3. As the ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the revolution, what plan of church government shall we hereafter pursue?"

A. "We will form ourselves into an Episcopal church, under the direction of superintendents, elders, deacons, and helpers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our liturgy, and the form of discipline set forth in these minutes."

Q. 4. "What may we reasonably believe to be God's design in raising up the Methodist preachers?"

A. "To reform one continent, and to spread scriptural holiness over these lands."

Q. 29. "If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no Superintendent remaining in our church, what shall we do?"

A. "The conference shall elect a Superintendent, and the Elders, or any three of them, shall ordain him according to our liturgy."

Another rule was, "that if a Superintendent ceases from traveling without the consent of the conference, he shall not thereafter exercise any ministerial function whatsoever in our church." The same rule was also made for the Elders and Deacons, in case they should cease to travel without the consent of the conference.

It may be well to remark here, that this church thus organized, was the first that was organized on the American continent. For if we but trace the history of the different christian denominations in our country, we shall find that most of them, are branches of their respective standing orders in Europe; and were organized and established there before they had an existence in America. And, that those that

have not thus descended from European orders, have taken their rise, and have been organized since the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Church of England, the Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, Dutch Reformed and Quakers, were all organized and established orders in Europe; and most, if not all of them, existed in this country before the Revolutionary war. But the constitution of the former of these, being founded in its union with the British government, it was consequently dissolved, or made void as such, by the acknowledgment of the independence and the separation of the American Colonies. Its union with the state, and the English hierarchy, were so essential to its existence, that its continuance could endure no longer than the British Standard remained. When, therefore, the British Standard was demolished, and consequently the English hierarchy nullified by the establishment of a separate government, the church of England was also demolished and ceased to exist.

From the fragments that remained, however, was instituted the "Protestant Episcopal Church." But even this was not done till after the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. It therefore follows that the Methodist Episcopal Church was the first, and the Protestant Episcopal Church the second that was organized on the Western continent.

CHAPTER II.

Church Government.

Considering the following dissertation, a judicious and able vindication of the government of our church, I have given it a place in this work, accompanied with some illustrations of one of Mr. Wesley's letters to Bishop Asbury. The following is extracted from Dr. (now Bishop) Emory's "Defence of 'our Fathers,' &c. against the attacks of the Rev. Alexander McCain and others."

SECTION 1.—*Episcopacy.*

Mr. McCain's first enquiry is, "What views do ecclesiastical writers give us of an episcopal form of church government?"

In answer to this enquiry, he quotes certain authorities in support of the following positions, viz.

That "Episcopallians, in the strict sense of the word, are those

who maintain that episcopacy is of apostolic institution, or that the church of Christ has ever been governed by three distinct orders, bishops, presbyters or priests, and deacons ;—that no one has a right to execute the ministerial office, without having previously received a divine commission ;—and the exclusive right of granting this commission is vested in the bishops as successors of the apostles.”

That “it is a principle universally established among Episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite without which a *valid Christian ministry* cannot be preserved ; and that such bishops alone possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to the flock of Christ.”

That “since the distinction of bishops and presbyters has been of divine appointment, it necessarily follows that the power of ordination, which is the chief mark of this distinction, was reserved to the bishops by the same appointment.”

Mr. McCain adds, “We have here some of the most prominent features of an episcopal church, as laid down by writers of great celebrity. We would now ask our brethren who say Mr. Wesley recommended the episcopal mode of church government, if there is in any of the letters which he wrote, a single line that would lead us to suppose that he held any one of the foregoing particulars ? Nay, did he not positively say he did not hold them ? What kind of an episcopal government then must it be that has not in it a single feature of episcopacy as described by ecclesiastical writers ?”

But did not Mr. McCain know that there are “ecclesiastical writers” who describe “episcopacy” with *other* features ? If he *did not*, his want of information is greater than we could have imagined. If he *did*, his argument is not ingenious. We can scarcely believe that it can have imposed on himself : and it is certainly too glaringly fallacious to be imposed on others.

“It ought to be understood,” says Dr. Samuel Miller, “that among those who espouse the episcopal side,—there are three classes.

“The first consists of those who believe that neither Christ nor his apostles laid down any particular form of ecclesiastical government to which the church is bound to adhere in all ages. That every church

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is free, consistently with the divine will, to frame her constitution agreeably to her own views, to the state of society, and to the exigencies of particular times. These prefer the episcopal government, and some of them believe that it was the primitive form; but they consider it as resting on the ground of *human expediency* alone, and not of *divine appointment*. This is well known to have been the opinion of Archbishops Cranmer, Grindal, and Whitgift; of Bishop Leighson, of Bishop Jewel, of Dr. Whitaker, of Bishop Reynolds, of Archbishop Tillotson, of Bishop Burnet, of Bishop Croft, of Dr. Stillingfleet, and of a *long list* of the *most learned and pious divines* of the church of England, from the reformation down to the present day.

"Another class of episcopalians go farther. They suppose that the government of the church by *bishops*, as a superior order to *presbyters*, was sanctioned by apostolic example, and that it is the duty of all churches to imitate this example. But while they consider episcopacy as necessary to the *perfection* of the church, they grant that it is by no means necessary to her *existence*; and accordingly, *without hesitation*, acknowledge as true churches of Christ, many in which the episcopal doctrine is rejected, and Presbyterian principle made the basis of ecclesiastical government. The advocates of this opinion, also, have been numerous and respectable, both among the clerical and lay members of the Episcopal churches in England, and the United States.—In this list appear the venerable names of Bishop Hall, Bishop Downham, Bishop Bancroft, Bishop Andrews, Archbishop Usher, Bishop Forbes, and learned Chillingworth, Archbishop Wake, Bishop Hoadly, and many more.

"A third class go much beyond either of the former. While they grant that God has left men at liberty to modify every other kind of government according to circumstances, they contend that one form of government for the church is unalterably fixed by divine appointment; that this form is episcopal; that it is absolutely *essential* to the *existence* of the church; that, of course, wherever it is wanting, there is no church, no regular ministry, no valid ordinances; and that all who are united with religious societies not conforming to this order, are 'aliens from Christ,' 'out of the appointed way to heaven,' and have no hope but in the 'uncovenanted mercies of God.'

"It is confidently believed," continues Dr. Miller, "that the two former classes, taken together, embrace at least *nineteen parts* out of *twenty* of all the Episcopalians in Great Britain and the United States; while, so far as can be learned from the most respectable writings, and other authentic sources of information, it is only the small remaining proportion who hold the extravagant opinions assigned to the third and last of these classes."

If we may rely on the researches of Dr. Miller, then, it is so far from being true, that "it is a principle universally established among Episcopalians, that a succession from the apostles in the order of bishops, as an order superior to, and distinct from presbyters, is a requisite without which a *valid christian ministry* cannot be preserved; and that such bishops alone possess the power of ordaining and commissioning ministers to feed the flock of Christ;" that at least *nineteen twentieths* of all the Episcopalians in Great Britain, and in the United States, hold no such sentiments (*) Neither, as we shall allow, were they the sentiments of Dr. Coke, or of Mr. Asbury, any more than of Mr. Wesley: nor do we believe that they are entertained by a single individual among Methodist Episcopalians, either in the ministry or in the laity.

The *Irenicum* of Dr. Stillingfleet, subsequently Bishop Stillingfleet, will be admitted to rank among the productions of "ecclesiastical writers" of distinguished "celebrity." From this work we shall exhibit a view of episcopacy somewhat different from that of Mr. McCain (†)

"I assert," says Dr. Stillingfleet, "any particular form of government agreed on by the governors of the church, consonant to the general rules of Scripture, to be by divine right; that is, God, by his own

(*) Gisborn, also, asserts that they are not the sentiments of the church of England.—*Survey*, p. 254.

(†) The object of Stillingfleet, in this work, was to discuss and examine the divine right of the different forms of church government, according to the principles of the law of nature, the positive laws of God, the practice of the apostles and the primitive church, and the judgment of reformed divines; in order to lay a foundation for the peace of the church, and for the accommodation of the differences which then existed. His aim was to moderate the extravagant pretensions of *high churchmen*, on the one side, and the intemperate zeal of those, on the other, who were for destroying episcopacy altogether. With what ability, and excellent temper, and moderation, he performed this task, will appear in the sequel.

laws, hath given men a power and liberty to determine the particular form of church government among them. And hence it may appear, that though one form of government be agreeable to the word, it doth not follow that another is not, or because one is lawful, another is unlawful; but one form may be more agreeable to some parts, places, people, and times, than others are. In which case, that form of government is to be settled which is most agreeable to the present state of a place, and is most advantageously conducive to the promoting the ends of church government in that place or nation.—*Irenicum*, pp. 9, 10, 2d edit. Lond. 1662.

“Matters of fact and mere apostolical practice, may, I freely grant, receive much light from the records of succeeding ages; but they can never give a man’s understanding sufficient ground to infer any divine law, arising from those facts attested to by the practice or records of succeeding ages.”—*Ibid.* p. 151.

In relation to arguments drawn from the testimony of antiquity, before their authority can be admitted in this controversy, Dr. Stillingfleet affirms, “these things must be manifested:—*that such things were unquestionably the practice of those ages and persons; that their practice was the same as that of the apostles; that what they did was not from any prudential motives, but by virtue of a law which did bind them to that practice.* Which things are easily passed over by the most eager disputers of the controversy about church government, but how necessary they are to be proved, before any form of government be asserted so necessary, that without it there can be no true church, any weak understanding may discern.”—*Ib.* p. 152.

“The reason of apostolical practice binds still, though not the individual action; that as they regulated churches for the best conveniency of governing them, so should the pastors of churches now.”—*Ib.* p. 181.

“Any one particular form of government in the church is neither expressed in any direct terms by Christ, nor can be deduced by just consequence; therefore no such form of government is instituted by Christ.”—*Ib.* p. 182.

“But though nothing can be inferred from hence as to the necessity of that office to continue in the church, which Timothy and Titus were invested in, yet from the superiority of that power which they enjoyed

over those churches, whether as evangelists, or as fixed bishops, these two things may be inferred : *First*, That the superiority of some church officers over others is not contrary to the rule of the gospel : for all parties acknowledge the superiority of their power above the presbyters of the several cities ; only the *continuance* of this power is disputed by many. But if they had any such power at all, it is enough for my present design, viz. that such a superiority is not contrary to the gospel rule : or that the nature of the government of the church doth not imply a necessary equality among the governors of it. *Secondly*, hence I infer that it is not repugnant to the constitution of churches in apostolical times, for men to have power over more than one particular congregation. For such a power Timothy and Titus had ; which, had it been contrary to the nature of the regiment of churches, we should never have read of in the first planted churches. So that if those popular arguments of a necessary relation between pastor and particular people, of personal knowledge, care, and inspection, did destroy the lawfulness of extending that care or charge to many particular congregations, they would likewise overthrow the nature, end, and design of the office which Timothy and Titus acted in which had a relation to a multitude of particular and congregational churches. Whether their power was *extraordinary* or no, I now dispute not ; but whether such a power be *repugnant to the gospel* or not, which, from their practice, it is *evident* that it is not.”—*Ib.* pp. 181, 187.

“ The foundation of this power was laid in the power which the apostles were invested with, which was extended over many, both churches and pastors.—“ If it be said, *The apostolical power, being extraordinary, must cease with the persons who enjoyed it* ; I answer, *first*, What was *extraordinary* did cease ; but all the dispute is, what was extraordinary, and what was not.—*Secondly*, By ceasing may be meant, either ceasing as to its *necessity*, or ceasing as to its *lawfulness*. I say not, but that the necessity of the office, as in their persons, for the first preaching and propagating the gospel, did cease with them ; but that after their death, it became *unlawful* for any particular persons to take the care and charge of diocesan churches, I deny. For to make a thing *unlawful*, which was before *lawful*, there must be some express

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prohibition, forbidding any farther use of such a power, which, I suppose, men will not easily produce in the word of God."—*Ib.* pp. 194-5.

"The *extending* of any ministerial power, is not the appointing of any *new office*; because every minister of the gospel hath a relation in *actu primo*" (primarily) "to the whole church of God: the restraint and enlargement of which power is subject to positive determinations of prudence and conveniency,—and therefore if the church see it fit for some men to have this power enlarged, for better government in some, and restrained in others, that *enlargement* is the appointing *no new office*, but the making use of a power already enjoyed for the benefit of the church of God. This being a foundation tending so fully to clear the lawfulness of that government in church, which implies a superiority and subordination of the officers of the church to one another; and the church, using her prudence in ordering the bounds of her officers, I shall do these two things: *First*, Show that the power, of every minister of the gospel doth primarily, and habitually, respect the church in common. *Secondly*, That the church may, in a peculiar manner, single out some of its officers for the due administration of ecclesiastical power.—*Ib.* p. 195.

"The officers of the church may, in a peculiar manner, attribute a larger and more extensive power to some particular persons, for the more convenient exercise of their common power—grant some the *executive part* of that power, which is originally and fundamentally common to them all. For our better understanding of this, we must consider a two fold power belonging to church officers, *a power of order*, and *a power of jurisdiction*"—*Ib.* p. 197.

Under this distinction he shows, that though every presbyter, primarily and inherently, as to *order* possesses a capacity for the highest ministerial acts, yet "some further authority is necessary in a church *constituted*" (or organized) "besides the power of order; and when this power, either by consent of the pastors of the church, or by the appointment of a Christian magistrate, or both, is devolved to some particular persons, though *quoad aptitudinem*" (as to the capacity or fitness) "the power remain in every presbyter, yet *quoad executionem*," (as to the actual discharge or execution of it,) "it belongs to those who are so appointed. And therefore Camero determines that

ordination doth not belong to the power of order, but to the power of jurisdiction, and therefore is subject to positive restraints, by prudential decreminations. By this we may understand how lawful the exercise of an *episcopal* power may be in the church of God, supposing an *equality* in all church officers as to the power of *order*. And how incongruously they speak, who supposing an equality in the presbyters of churches at first, do cry out, that the church takes upon her the office of Christ, if she *delegates* any to a more *particular* exercise of the *power of jurisdiction*.—*Ib.* pp. 197-8

"Before the jurisdiction of presbyters was restrained by mutual consent, in this instant doubtless, the presbyters enjoyed the same liberty that the presbyters among the Jews did, of ordaining other presbyters by that power they were invested in at their own ordination. In the first primitive church, the presbyters all acted in common for the welfare of the church, and either did or might ordain others to the same authority with themselves; because the *intrinsic* power of order was equally in them, and in those who were after appointed governors over presbyteries. And the collation of orders doth come from the power of order, and not *merely* from the power of jurisdiction. It being likewise *fully acknowledged* by the *schoolmen*, that bishops are not superior above presbyters, as to the power of *order*."—*Ib.* p. 273.

"It is evident *Jerome* attributes the first original of that *exsors potestas*," [delegated power, or power given by choice,] "as he calls it elsewhere, in the bishop above presbyters, not to any apostolical institution, but to the *free choice of the presbyters themselves*; which doth fully explain what he means by *consuetudo ecclesiae* before spoken of, viz:—that which came up by a voluntary act of the governors of churches themselves. To which we may add what *Eutychius* the patriarch of Alexandria, saith in his *Origines Ecclesiae Alexandrinae* published in Arabic by our most learned Selden, who expressly affirms, that the twelve presbyters constituted by Mark upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him patriarch."—*Ib.* p. 274.

"Antonius de Rosellis fully expresseth my meaning in this ;"—(in the first period of the church,) "Every presbyter and presbyters did

but to the power of restraints, by prudence how lawful the exercise of God, supposing of order. And how quality in the presbytery takes upon her the particular exercise of

ained by mutual consent, enjoyed the same liberty in ordaining other presbyters in ordination. In the common for the we in others to the same power of order appointed governors doth come from the of jurisdiction. It be, that bishops are not der."—*Ib.* p. 273.

at of that exsors power by choice,] "as bishops, not to any apostles themselves: *vetudo ecclesiæ* before any act of the government add what Eutychius *es Ecclesiæ Alexandrensis*, who expressly Mark upon the value one to be head over upon him, and blessing

aning in this ;"—(in and presbyters did

ordain indifferently, and thence arose schisms : thence the liberty was restrained and reserved peculiarly to some persons who did act in the several presbyteries, as the *Prince of the Sanhedrim*,—both parties granting that in the church such a restraint was laid upon the liberty of ordaining presbyters; and the exercise of that power may be restrained still, granting it to be radically and intrinsically in them. So that this controversy is not such as should divide the church. For those that are for ordinations only by a superior order in the church, acknowledge a radical power for ordination in presbyters, which may be exercised in case of necessity, do thereby make it evident, that none who grant that, do think that any positive law of God hath forbidden presbyters the power of ordination; for then it must be wholly unlawful, and in case of necessity it cannot be valid. Which doctrine I dare with some confidence assert to be a stranger to our Church of England,—on the other side, those who hold ordinations by presbyters lawful, do not therefore hold them necessary, but it being a matter of liberty, and not of necessity—this power then may be restrained by those who have the care of the church's peace, and matters of liberty being restrained, ought to be submitted to in order to the church's peace."—*Ib.* p. 276.

"In the matter itself, I believe upon the strictest inquiry Medina's judgement will prove true that Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, Sedulius, Primasius, Chrisostom, Theodoret, Theophilact, were all Aerius his judgement as to the identity of both name and order of bishops and presbyters in the primitive church; but here lay the difference. Aelius from hence proceeded to separation from bishops and their churches, because they were bishops. And Blondell well observes, that the main ground why Aerius was condemned, was for unnecessary separation from the church of Sebastia; and those bishops, too, who agreed with him in other things,—whereas Jerome was so far from thinking it necessary to cause a schism in the church, by separating from bishops, that his opinion is clear, that the first institution of them was for preventing schisms; and therefore, for peace and unity, he thought their institution very useful in the church of God"—*Ib.* pp. 276-7.

"When the apostles were taken out of the way, who kept the

main power in their own hands, of ruling their several presbyteries, or delegated some to do it, (who had a main hand in planting churches with the apostles, and thence are called, in Scripture, sometimes fellow laborers in the Lord, and sometimes evangelists, and by Theodoret *apostles* but of a *second order*,) after, I say, these were deceased, and the main power left in the presbyters enjoying an equal power among themselves,—the wiser and graver sort considered the abuses following the promiscuous use of this power of ordination, and withal, having in their minds the excellent frame of the government of the church, under the apostles and their deputies, and for preventing or further schisms and divisions among themselves, they *unanimously* agreed to *choose one out of their number* who was best qualified for the management of so great a trust, and to *devolve the exercise of the power of ordination and jurisdiction* to him; yet so that he act *nothing of importance without the consent and concurrence of the presbyters*, who were still to be as the *common council* to the bishop. This I take to be the *true and just* account of the *original of episcopacy*, in the primitive church, according to Jerome: which model of government, thus contrived and framed, sets forth to us a most lively character of that *great wisdom and moderation*, which *then ruled* the heads and hearts of the primitive Christians, and, which, *when men have studied and searched all other ways*, (the abuses incident to this government through the corruptions of men and times being retrenched) *will be found the most agreeable to the primitive form*, both as *asserting the due interest of the presbyteries*, and *allowing the due honor of episcopacy*, and by the *great harmony of both*, carrying on the affairs of the church with the greatest unity, concord, and peace. *Which form of government, I cannot see how any possible reason can be produced, by either party, why they may not with cheerfulness embrace it.*—Ib 281—2.

“Thus we have once more cleared Jerome and the truth together; I only wish that all that are of his judgement for the practice of the primitive church, were of his temper for the practice of their own; and while they own not episcopacy as necessary by a divine right, yet (being duly moderated, and joined with presbyteries) they may embrace it, as not only a lawful, but very useful constitution in the

church of God. By which we may see, what an excellent temper may be found out, most fully consonant to the primitive church for the management of *ordinations* and *church power*, viz. BY THE PRESIDENCY OF THE BISHOP AND THE CONCURRENCE OF THE PRESBYTERY."—*Ib.* p. 283.

All that I have to say then concerning the course taken by the apostles, in settling the government of the churches,—lies in these three propositions,—viz. *That neither can we have that certainty of apostolical practice, which is necessary to constitute a divine right ; nor, secondly, is it probable that the apostles did tie themselves up to any one fixed course in modelling churches ; nor, thirdly, if they did, doth it necessarily follow that we must observe the same?*"—*Ib.* p. 287.

"In this place, lib. 4. cap. 43, he" (Irenæus) "not only asserts the succession of presbyters to the apostles, but likewise attributes the *SUCCESSIO EPISCOPATUS*" (*the succession of the Episcopate*) "to these very presbyters." Whence comes the community of names still, that those who are said to succeed the apostles, are called bishops in one place, but presbyters in another ; and THE VERY SUCCESSION OF EPISCOPACY ATTRIBUTED TO PRESBYTERS?"—*Ib.* p. 307.

"And great probability there is, that where churches were planted by presbyters, as the church of France by Andochius and Inignus, that afterwards upon the increase of churches and presbyters to rule them, they did from among themselves choose one to be the bishop over them as Pothinus was at Lyons. *For we no where read in those early plantations of churches, that where there were presbyters already they sent to other churches to desire episcopal ordination from them.*" *Ib.* p. 375.

"It is a known instance, that in the ordination of Pelagius, first bishop of Rome, there were only two bishops concerned and one presbyter ; whereas, according to the fourth *canon* of the Nicene council, three bishops are absolutely required for ordination of a bishop : either then Pelagius was no canonical bishop, and so the point of succession thereby fails in the church of Rome : or else a presbyter hath the same intrinsical power of ordination which a bishop hath," [even in ordaining a bishop,] "but it is only retrained by ecclesiastical laws." *Ib.* p. 380.

"I believe there will, upon the most impartial survey, scarce be one church of the reformation brought, which doth embrace any form of government, because it looked upon that form as only necessary by an unalterable standing law; but *every one took up that form of government which was judged most suitable to the state and condition of their several churches.*" *Ib.* p. 384.

"I do not doubt but to make it evident, that the main ground for settling episcopal government in this nation, (England,) "was not accounted any pretence of *divine right*, but *the conveniency of that form of church government to the state and condition of the church at the time of its reformation.*" *Ib.* p. 385.

"The first who solemnly appeared in vindication of the English hierarchy, was archbishop Whitgift: yet he asserts that *no kind of government is expressed in the word, or can necessarily be concluded from thence*: and again; *no form of church government is by the Scripture prescribed to, or commanded the church of God.*" *Ib.* p. 394.

"That great light of the German church, Chemnitius, asserts the church's freedom and liberty as to the orders and degrees of those who superintend the affairs of the church; which he builds on a threefold foundation: 1. That the word of God no where commands *what* or *how many degrees* and *orders* of ministers there shall be. 2. That in the apostles' time, there was not *the like number* in *all churches*, as is evident from Paul's epistles. 3. That in the apostles' time in *some places one person* did manage the *several offices* belonging to a church. Which three propositions are the very basis of all our foregoing discourse.—The sum is, it appears by the practice of the apostolical church, that the state, condition, and necessity of every particular church, ought to be the standard, and measure what offices and degrees of persons ought to be in it." *Ib.* pp. 397, 398.

Zanchy, an eminent Presbyterian divine, "asserts it to be in the church's power and liberty to add several orders of ministers, according as it judgeth them tend to edification; and saith, he is far from condemning the course of the primitive church, in erecting one as bishop over the presbyters, for better managing church affairs." *Ib.* p. 399.

Fregevil, a divine of the French Church, (whom the English bishop Hall calls 'wise Fregevil, a deep head,') in his 'Politic Reformer,' says, "When the apostles first planted churches, the same being small and in affliction, there were not as yet any other bishops, priests, or deacons, but themselves: they were the bishops and deacons, and together served the tables. These men therefore whom God raiseth up to plant a church, can do no better, than after the example of the apostles, to bear themselves in equal authority." *Ib.* p. 400.

Beza, another eminent Presbyterian divine says, "He was so far from thinking that the human order of episcopacy was brought into the church through rashness or ambition, that none can deny it to have been very useful as long as bishops were good. And those that both will and can, let them enjoy it still.—And elsewhere professeth all reverence, esteem, and honor to be due to all such modern bishops, who strive to imitate the example of the primitive bishops, in a due reformation of the church of God according to the rule of the word. And looks on it as a most false and impudent calumny of some that said as though they" [of Geneva] "intended to prescribe their form of government to all other churches; as though they were like some ignorant fellows who think nothing good but what they do themselves." *Ib.* p. 406.

To invalidate the authority of Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, it has been objected by some extravagant asserters of the apostolical succession of episcopacy, that it was an indigested work, written when the author was young, and was subsequently retracted. How far this representation is correct, the following facts will show.—After being several years engaged in the composition of that work, the author published it in 1659, at the age of twenty-four. Three years afterwards, in 1662, he published a second edition; and the same year he gave to the world his *Origines Sacrae*. Soon after these publications, he met his diocesan, the celebrated bishop Saunderson, at a visitation. The bishop seeing so young a man, could hardly believe it was Stillingfleet, whom he had hitherto known only by his writings; and, after having embraced him, said, He much rather expected to have seen one as considerable for his *age*, as he had already shown himself for his learning. See the life of Bishop Stillingfleet, pp. 12–16, as quoted by

Dr. Miller.—“When adivine of acknowledged talents and learning,” adds Dr. Miller, “after spending several years in a composition of moderate length, deliberately commits it to the press : when, after reflecting on the subject, and hearing the remarks of his friends for three years longer, he publishes it a second time ; and when, after this second publication, he is complimented for his great erudition, by one of the most able and learned dignitaries of the age, there seems little room for a charge of haste, or want of digestion.”—*Letters*, pp. 270–271, n.

“The truth seems to be,” continues Dr. Miller, “that Dr. Stillingfleet, finding that the opinions of a number of influential men in the church were different from those which he had advanced in this work ; and finding also that a fixed adherence to them might be adverse to the interest of the established church, in which he sought preferment, he made a kind of vague and feeble recantation ; and wrote in favor of the apostolical origin of episcopacy. It is remarkable, however, that this prelate, in answer to an accusation of inconsistency between his early and his latter writings, on this subject, assigned another reason besides a change of opinion, viz. that the former were written ‘*before the laws were established.*’ But in whatever degree his *opinion* may have been altered, his *reasonings* and *authorities* have undergone no change. They remain in all their force, and have never been refuted, either by himself or others.”—*Ib.* p. 271

Dr. White, now bishop White, of Pennsylvania, was of opinion that that learned prelate, Stillingfleet, was most probably not dissatisfied with that part of the *Irenicum* which would have been to his (Dr. White’s) purpose ; and which of course, as we shall presently show, is to our purpose. Burnet, the contemporary and friend of Stillingfleet, says, (History of his own Times, anno. 1661,) “To avoid the imputation that book brought upon him, he went into the humors of an high sort of people, beyond what became him, perhaps beyond his own sense of things.” “The book, however,” bishop White adds, “was, it seems, easier *retracted* than *refuted* : for though offensive to many of both parties, it was managed, says the same author, [Burnet,] with so much *learning* and *skill*, that none of either side ever undertook to answer it.” See “The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered,” p. 22.

"Luther, and the leading divines of his denomination, supposed that a system" [of church government] "embracing some degree of impartiality" [among ministers] "was in general, expedient; and accordingly, in proceeding to organize their churches, appointed *superintendents*, who enjoyed a kind of pre-eminence, and were vested with peculiar powers. But they explicitly acknowledge this office to be a *human*, and not a *divine* institution."—*Miller's Letters*, p. 237.

"The Lutheran churches in Sweden and Denmark are Episcopal. See Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 279. Yet all ecclesiastical historians agree that when the Reformation was introduced into Sweden, the first ministers who undertook to ordain were *only presbyters*.—*Miller's Letters*, p. 240."

"It is equally certain that in the ordination of a *bishop*, if the other *bishops happen to be absent*, the more grave and aged of the ordinary pastors supply their place, and are considered as *fully invested with the ordinary power*."—*Ib.* p. 241.

In case of necessity, the same power is recognized by the Methodist Episcopal Church, as fully invested in her body of presbyters. Yet if by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there should at any time be no bishop remaining among us, even in this case the remaining presbyters would not themselves directly ordain new presbyters, but would first set apart another general superintendent, or superintendents, as their constituted organ for this purpose.

SECTION II.—*Sentiments of Bishop White.*

In the year 1783, a pamphlet was published in Philadelphia, entitled "The case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States considered." This work has always been considered as the production of Dr. White, now Bishop White, of Pennsylvania. Dr. Miller, in his letters, published in 1807, p. 270, attributes it to him by name; and we have not understood that its authenticity has ever been denied. A new edition of it has recently been published in Philadelphia, by Wm. Stavely, publisher of the Philadelphia Recorder, a paper edited by a distinguished clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

It will be seen from this work, with what ability Dr. White argued the case of the Episcopal churches in the United States at that period;

and how equally strikingly his arguments were adapted to the state of the Methodist societies at the same period.

In a "sketch of a frame of government" offered by Dr. White, he says, "In each smaller district, there should be elected a general vestry or convention, consisting of a convenient number, (the minister to be one,)—They should elect a clergyman their *permanent president*; who, in conjunction with other clergymen to be also appointed by the body, may exercise such powers as are purely spiritual, *particularly that of admitting to the ministry*," p. 11.

Again, "The conduct meant to be recommended, —is to include in the proposed frame of government, *a general approbation of episcopacy*, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time *to carry the plan into effect without waiting for the succession*."—*Ib.* p. 15.

"But it will also be said," continues Dr. White, "that the very name of '*bishop*' is offensive; if so, *change it for another*; let the superior clergyman be a *president*, a *superintendent*, or in plain English, and according to the literal translation of the original, an *overseer*. However, if *names* are to be reprobated, because the powers annexed to them are abused, there are few appropriated to either civil or ecclesiastical distinctions, which would retain their places in our catalogue." *Ib.* p. 17.

"The other part of the proposal of Dr. White, was an *immediate execution of the plan, without waiting for the episcopal succession*.—This is founded on the presumption, that the worship of God, and the instruction and reformation of the people, are the principal objects of ecclesiastical discipline——" *Ib.*

"It will be said, we ought to continue as we are, with the hope of obtaining it," [the succession,] hereafter. But," continues Dr. White, "are the *acknowledged ordinances* of Christ's holy religion to be suspended for years, perhaps as long as the present generation shall continue, out of delicacy to a *disputed point*, and that relating only to externals?—All the obligations of conformity to the divine ordinances, all the arguments which prove the connexion between public worship and the morals of a people, combine to urge the adopting some *speedy measures*, to provide for the public ministry in these churches.

If such as have been above recommended," [viz. ordination by the president clergyman, in conjunction with other clergymen, appointed by the body,] "should be adopted, and the episcopal succession afterwards obtained, any supposed imperfection of the intermediate ordinations might, *if it were judged proper*, be supplied, *without acknowledging their nullity*, by a *conditional* ordination resembling that of *conditional baptism* in the liturgy.—*Ib.*

But if the "succession" had never been "afterwards obtained," there can be little doubt that Dr. White would have maintained the validity of the ordinations on his plan, without the succession. For, as he very justly argues in another place, "If even those who hold episcopacy to be of divine right, conceive the obligation to it to be not binding, when that idea would be destructive of public worship, much more must *they* think so, who indeed venerate and prefer that form, as the most ancient and eligible, but without any idea of divine right in the case. This the author believes to be the sentiment of the great body of Episcopalians in America; in which respect they have in their favor, *unquestionably* the sense of the Church of England, and, as he believes, the opinions of her most distinguished prelates for piety, virtue, and abilities."—*Ib.* p. 25.

To make any particular form of church government, though adopted by the apostles, unalterably binding, Dr. White maintains, "it must be shown enjoined in positive precept."—*Ib.* He remarks farther, "that Dr. Calamy having considered it as the sense of the church," [of England,] "in the preface to the ordinal, that the three orders were of divine appointment, and urged it as a reason for nonconformity; the bishop [Hoadly] *with evident propriety*, remarks, that the service pronounces *no such thing*; and that therefore Dr. Calamy created a difficulty, where the church had made none; there being 'some difference,' says he, 'between these two sentences—bishops, priests, and deacons, are three distinct orders in the church, *by divine appointment*, and—from the apostle's time there have been in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons.'"—"The same distinction," says Dr. White, "is accurately drawn, and fully proved by Stillingfleet in the *Irenicum*."—*Ib.* p. 22, and note.

"Now," continues Dr. White, "if the form of church government

rests on no other foundation, than ancient and apostolical *practice*, it humbly submitted to consideration whether Episcopalians will not be thought *scarcely deserving the name of Christians*, should they, rather than consent to a temporary deviation, abandon every ordinance positive and divine appointment."—*Ib.*

The reader will please to observe, that at the period when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, if we had not acted independently of the alleged apostolical succession, we must necessarily, for a long time at all events, have abandoned ordinances of positive and divine appointment. Mr. Wesley, also, as it had been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America, expressly states, 1. "I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only, but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceeding; but the matter admits of delay." Dr. White was of the same opinion, in relation to the Episcopal churches; and was in favor of carrying his plan of ordination without waiting for the Episcopal succession," into immediate execution."

"Bishop Hoadly says, 'The acceptance of *reordination* by the dissenting ministers, *would not be a denial of that right, which* (as they conceived) *presbyters had to ordain.*'"—*Ib.* p. 23.

The learned Hooker also admits, that in "*the exigence of necessity*," or "*the necessity of the present*," episcopal ordination, in the line of succession, is not indispensable. *Ecclesiastical Policy*, book 7. sec. 14.

"Had Mr. Hooker," says Dr. White, (p. 26,) "been asked to define '*exigence of necessity*,' could he have imagined any more urgent than the case in question?"—the case of the Episcopal churches in this country at that time.—"Or, had he been enquired of concerning the '*necessities of present times*,' could he have mentioned any in the cases to which he alludes (those of Scotland and Geneva) so strongly pleading for the liberty he allows, as those now existing in America?"—at the period of writing and establishing that pamphlet. The reader has only to change the name, and the just and solid argumentation of Dr. White is as exactly applicable to the case of the Methodist societies in America, at that period, as to "the case of the Episcopal churches."

"What necessity was there?" continued Dr. White, "of the 'reformed churches abroad' equal to ours? Is not an *immediate imitation* of the ancient usage '*impracticable*?' Would not such a plan as has been proposed," (viz. ordination by a clergyman chosen as a permanent president, in conjunction with others appointed by the body;) "be conforming, as far as circumstances will allow, to our ideas of the apostolic model."—*Ib.* p. 27. After quoting archbishops Usher and Crammer, with the highest eulogies, in support of this plan, Dr White thus concludes the argument.

"On the credit of the preceding names, the author rests this the last part of his subject; and if his sentiments should meet with an unfavorable reception, he will find no small consolation from being in a company so respectable."—*Ib.* p. 29.—So say we; especially since we have now added the name of Dr. White. More than forty years have elapsed since the publication of that pamphlet, yet we are not aware that it has ever been retraced. If it had been, we presume that some notice would have been given of it in the new edition just published, in the life time of the bishop, and at the place of his own residence. And, in any case, we might well say of this production, as Dr. White so oppositely remarked of Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*;—it would be "*easier retracted than refuted.*"

SECTION III.—*Mr. Wesley's Opinion.*

"As to my own judgment," says Mr. Wesley, "I still believe the episcopal form of a church government to be scriptural and apostolical. I mean, well agreeing with the practice and writings of the apostles. But that it is prescribed in Scripture, I do not believe. This opinion, which I once zealously espoused, I have been heartily ashamed of, ever since I read Bishop Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*. I think he has unanswerably proved, that neither Christ nor his apostles *prescribed* any particular form of church government; and that the plea of *divine right* for diocesan episcopacy, was never heard of in the primitive church."—Wesley's Works, London edition, 1813, vol. xvi, p. 26.

So far as the judgment of Mr. Wesley is concerned then, it is, on one hand, decidedly in favor of "the episcopal form of church gov-

ernment;" and, on the other, as decidedly against the high church pretensions.

The above extracts will also serve to show the opinion which that great master of logic entertained of Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*.

SECTION IV.—*Ordination*.

With the preceding principles and authorities before us, it only remains to consider the origin and force of *ordination*, and we shall then be prepared to enter into an examination of the original organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"Their custom of ordination," says Dr. Stillingfleet, "was evidently taken up by the Christians from a correspondency to the synagogue.—That under the synagogue was done by laying on of hands.—A two-fold use I find of this symbolical rite, besides the solemn designation of the person on whom the hands are laid. The *first* is to denote the delivery of the person or thing thus laid hands upon, to the right, use, and peculiar service of God.—The *second* end of the laying on the hands, was the solemn invocation of the Divine presence and assistance to be upon and with the person upon whom the hands were thus laid.—Thence in all solemn prayers, wherein any person was particularly designed, they made use of this custom of imposition of hands. From which custom Augustine speaks, *Quod aliud est manuum impositio nisi oratio super hominem?*" [What is imposition of hands but prayer over a man?] "Thence when Jacob prayed over Joseph's children, he laid his hands upon them; so when Moses prayed over Joshua. The practice likewise our saviour used in blessing children, healing the sick, and the apostles in conferring the gifts of the Holy Ghost; and from thence it was conveyed into the practice of the primitive church, who used it in any more solemn invocation of the name of God in behalf of any particular persons.—But the most solemn and peculiar use of this imposition of hands among the Jews, was in the designing of any persons for any public employment among them. Not as though the *bare imposition of hands* did confer any power upon the person—but with that ceremony upon them.—This custom being so generally in use among the Jews in the time when the apostles were sent forth, with authority for gathering and settling the churches, we find them accordingly making

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lemn invocation of the pressnce of God upon any persons, or de-
signation and appointing them for any peculiar service or function.*
For we have no ground to think that the apostles had any *peculiar
command* for laying on their hands upon persons in prayer over them,
or ordination of them. But the thing itself being enjoined them, viz.
the *setting apart some persons* for the peculiar work of attendance
upon the necessities of the churches by them planted, they took up
and made use of a laudable rite and custom, then in use upon such
occasions. And so we find the apostles using it in the solemn desig-
nation of some persons to the office of deacons:—afterwards upon an
occasion not heard of in the synagogue—for the conferring the gifts
of the Holy Ghost. But although the occasion was extraordinary,
yet the use of that rite in it was very suitable, inasmuch as those
gifts did so much answer to the Holy Spirit, "which the Jews con-
ceived did rest upon those who were so ordained by imposition of
hands. The next time we meet with this rite, was upon a *peculiar
designation to a particular service of persons already appointed by
God for the work of the ministry*, which is of Paul and Barnabas by
the prophets and teachers at Antioch; whereby God doth set forth
the use of that rite of ordination to the Christian churches." Iren.
pp. 264-271.

"Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public
church office." Westminster Assembly of Divines, examined and
approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.—Neal,
vol. v. p. 357—appendix

Mr. McCain has taken pains to show that the validity of Pres-
byterian ordination was established by Mr. Wesley, and is the princi-
ple of the ordination of the British Conference. But whoever denied
this? Is it not expressly and fully declared in our Book of Discipline,
in answer to the following question;—"If by death, expulsion, or
otherwise, there be no bishop remaining in our church, what shall we
do?"

The answer is—"The General Conference shall elect a bishop;
and the *elders, or any three of them, who shall be appointed by the
General Conference for that purpose*, shall ordain him, according to

our form of ordination." Chap. i. sec. 4, quest. 2. And this answer shows both the good sense of those who framed it, and their acquaintance with ancient ecclesiastical usage. For, as Stillingfleet above quoted, says, "Great probability there is, that where churches were planted by presbyters," (as the Methodist Episcopal Church was,) "upon the increase of churches and presbyters, they did from among themselves, choose one to be as the bishop over them.—For we nowhere read in those early plantations of churches, that *where there were presbyters already*, they sent to *other* churches to desire episcopal ordination from *them*." It is also in exact accordance with the practice of the church of Alexandria, which would not suffer the interference of foreign churches in consecrating their bishops, and of which the patriarch Eutychsus, as quoted by Stillingfleet, "expressly affirms, that the twelve presbyters constituted by Mark, upon the vacancy of the see, did choose one out of their number to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him patriarch."

When Mr. McCain asserts, that "neither are the ordinations which he" (Mr. Wesley) "conferred, viewed by writers among the English Methodists—as favoring our title of Episcopacy," he stops short of the phraseology used by the very writers whom he quotes. Their language is—"He" [Mr. Wesley] "gave up episcopal ordination as *understood by high churchmen*." So do we. And so does our Discipline, clearly and unequivocally.

SECTION V.—*Ordination of Dr. Coke.*

Having thus cleared our way, we shall now take up the ordination of Dr. Coke.

"If," says Mr. McCain, "Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke a bishop, in the common acceptation of that term, then did he create a church officer greater than himself, and of consequence he brought himself into subjection to Dr. Coke, by making the doctor his superior." Again; "If the doctor was constituted a bishop," [*in the common acceptation of the term*,] is here dropped,] "he was raised to a rank above a presbyter, and invested with superior powers. In that case he that sent was greater than he that sent him"—and "then, Mr. Wesley, who was only a presbyter, and consequently inferior to a bishop, as-

sumed the prerogative to send his superior to do a work, in his name, which he himself could not go to do."—And again ;—" If the Doctor, by the imposition of Mr. Wesley's hands, is created a bishop, then the objection of the bishop of Norwich lies in full force—" If a presbyter can ordain a bishop, then the greater is blessed of the less," &c.

We have already seen what Mr. McCain represents to be "the common acceptance" of the term bishop, (which, by the way, we have shown is *not* the common acceptance,) viz. an order of ministers distinct from presbyters *by divine appointment*, to whom the power of ordination is reserved *by the same appointment*, and is the chief mark of their distinction ;—and in whom, as successors of the apostles, is vested the *exclusive* right of granting the divine commission to execute the ministerial office.—Now *if* Mr. Wesley ordained Dr. Coke in no such sense ;—*if* he pretended to no such thing :—*if* neither our bishops nor the Methodist Episcopal Church, have never pretended to any such thing,—what then ? Why then it follows that all the smart saying on this transaction, which have been repeated and copied from my Bishop of Norwich down to the last copiest, are wholly wide of the mark, and are shaken both from Mr. Wesley and from us, as "the lion shakes to air the mists shed on his mane."—They may serve to mislead the ignorant, and such as may be captivated by sound more than by sense. But as to the argument they are perfectly nugatory.—If, says Dr. Whitehead and Mr. Moore, Mr. Wesley's position be true, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, the bishop of Norwich should have first overthrown the position, if he could, to have established his own.

But, says Mr. McCain, "as Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke were of the same order,—the doctor had as good a clerical right to ordain Mr. Wesley a bishop, as Mr. Wesley had to ordain the doctor."—*As* a clerical right ;—he seems to have felt here that his argument was lame. He knows well that the true question is not as to the positive clerical power of ordination, *abstractly* ; but whether, in the circumstances then existing, as to acknowledged *jurisdiction*, that a union of the times, Dr. Coke had as good a right to ordain the Methodist Episcopal Church, Wesley to superintend the American Methodists, the proposal to John to summon a council, and to ordain and send him. I reduced it to writing.

was so regarded by the Methodists of that day, either in Europe or in America.

The Methodist society in America, although under the spiritual direction of the Rev. John Wesley, and his assistants, whom under God they regarded as their father and founder, yet, previously to the revolutionary war, were religious societies within the Church of England, without any provision among themselves for the administration of the ordinances. From that church they were separated, let it be carefully observed, not by any *schism* or *faction*, or any species of misconduct on their part; but by the acts of Providence, and by circumstances wholly beyond their control. The church of England had *ceased to exist*, in America, and the Methodists here were absolutely compelled either to provide for themselves, or to live in neglect of the positive ordinances of Christ. Their case was clearly that of "the exigence of necessity," agreeably to Hooker himself; and most undeniably so agreeably to the principles then advocated by Dr. White.—Our societies had suffered long, as sheep without shepherds. They had endured the privation of the ordinances till the patience of many had been exhausted, and a serious disunion was threatened; if not dissolution. A portion of the preachers and societies in the south had resolved on measures for the administration of the ordinances among themselves. This step was strenuously resisted by the conference which met in Baltimore in 1780. That conference unanimously disapproved of the measures adopted by their brethren in Virginia, and resolved that they would not regard them as Methodists in connection with Mr. Wesley, till they came back; and Francis Asbury, Freeborn Garrettson, and William Watters, were appointed a committee to attend the Virginia conference, and inform them of these proceedings, and receive their answer. On that occasion Mr. Asbury exerted his officer's influence to effect a re-union, and, in conjunction with his colleagues, happily succeeded. The proposal by which it was accomplished "If the doctor's discussion and distress, *originated* with him. (See *of the term*," is here to J. O'Kelly, p. 8, and Lee's History, p. 73.) presbyter, and in ~~any~~ should consent to bear their privations yet sent was greater than who was only a ^{says this proposal was made "by one of their own party."} pancy is explained by Mr. Snethen in his "Answer to J.

longer;—to write to Mr. Wesley and lay their situation before him, and to take his advice. This proposal was agreed to;—a division was prevented; a happy union was restored; and the preachers departed with thankful hearts, to persuade the people to unite with them in long forbearance.

Yet it was not till several years after this;—nor till the church of England in America was confessedly extinct by the acknowledgment of our independence, and all hope of supplies from that quarter, in any reasonable time, if ever, had utterly failed, that Mr. Wesley resolved on the adoption of the measures which, from his relation to the Methodists (under the true head of the church,) and their urgent solicitations, he had long before believed himself fully authorized to adopt; but which, *for peace' sake* he had many years forborne. On the same principle, *for peace' sake*, he had desired the bishop of London to ordain only one preacher for America, but could not prevail. Driven to this extremity, with all his societies and preachers in America, he summoned a council of grave and pious presbyters. These were in conjunction with him, *our body of presbyters*, and with their advice he acted. The venerable Fletcher was one of the council, though not present at the subsequent ordinations. Mr Wesley's scruples were now ended, and he resolved, with the aid of other presbyters, to exercise that authority to which he believed himself called by *the Providence of God*, and by the "*necessities of the times*."—Now if the episcopacy of the church of England, (and consequently of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country,) rest on no other foundation than ancient and apostolic *practice*, we humbly submit, (in language similar to that of bishop White on another occasion,) whether the Methodists would scarcely been deserving the name of Christians, if rather than consent to a temporary (or even to a permanent) deviation from that line of episcopacy, they had abandoned every ordinance of positive and divine appointment.

Bishop White states, as quoted by Mr. McCain, that a union of the Methodists in this country with the Protestant Episcopal Church,

O'Kelly's vindication."—Mr. Asbury, originally made the proposal to John Dickins, to whom Mr. Watters alludes. John Dickins reduced it to writing, and proposed it to the conference.

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was proposed by Dr. Coke in 1791, the terms of which, on the Doctor's part as stated by bishop White, all will admit, were sufficiently humble. Why did that proposal fail? It is stated, on the same authority that it failed in consequence of the proceedings of the convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, before whom the subject was laid in 1792. The Rev. Dr. Wyatt of Baltimore published in 1820, a similar statement. If this statement be correct, then the responsibility for the rendering of our deviation from that line of episcopacy *permanent*, rests on *them*. The proposed union by which our "*temporary deviation*" might have been cured, according to Dr. White's plan of *conditional* ordinances, on the principle of *conditional* baptisms, was rejected by *them*. Is it then, for *them*, now to reproach us with this deviation, which had been adopted, clearly, in the "exigence of necessity," and which *they*, as much as in *them* laid, thus contributed to render permanent. This would be both cruel and unchristian. It is not, we think, in the power of the acutest disputant to impugn the ground on which we stand without equally impugning that assumed by Dr. White, in "The case of the Episcopal churches considered." Nor to *refute* this, without refuting that. We shall have occasion to advert again to the statement respecting Dr. Coke's proposals to bishop White, and shall only add here, that, from what we have said, it must plainly appear that the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, affords no color of pretext or of countenance, to any leaders or authors of schism, faction, disorganization, or disunion. The proceedings of "our fathers" partook of no such character. Nor can the precedent of their example be pleaded by the instigators, or abettors, of any such disorders.

Episkopos, (Greek,)—*episcopus*, (Latin,)—a bishop, or overseer. The Hebrew *paked*, as the Greek *episkopos*,—whence the Anglo-Saxon *bischop*, and our English word *bishop*,—is any man that hath a charge and office for any business, civil or ecclesiastical. It is derived from *epi*, *super*, and *skopein*, *intendere*,—*superintendere*, to *superintend*. And hence *supertendent*, from the Latin is of precisely the same import as *bishop* from the Greek. "Inter *presbuteron*, tamen, et *Episkopon*, hoc interest: *presbuteros*, nomen est ordinis: *Episkopos*, nomen in illo ordine officii." [Between bishop and presbyter there is

nevertheless this difference. *Presbyter* is the name of an *order*. *Bishop* is the name of an *office* in that order.] See *Leigh's Critica Sacra*.

Originally, "the name *episkopoi*, [bishops,] given "to the governors of the church under the gospel," was "a name importing *duty* more than *honor*; and not a title above *presbyter*." *Irenicum*, p. 286.

We say, then, with a certain author, that "intelligent Christians, before they either vindicate or vilify a simple name, will inquire into its precise signification." We have done so with regard to our term *bishop*. And the enquiry conducts us to the conclusion, that it may be vindicated; but cannot be justly vilified.

The following extracts of a letter from the late Rev. and venerable Wm. Watters, will shed light on the use of the terms, among us, assistant, superintendent and *bishop*.

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"That there should be those who through prejudice think the Methodists, since they have had bishops among them, are quite a different people, is not strange. But is it not strange that those who have known them from the beginning, should admit such a thought, till they have investigated the matter thoroughly? All must know that names do not alter the nature of things. We have from the beginning had one among us who has superintended the whole work. At first this person was solely appointed by Mr. Wesley, and called the general assistant; at a time when there were none but European preachers on the continent. But why was the name of general assistant ever changed? All that will open their eyes may know why. The Methodists in England and America formerly did not call themselves a particular church; but a religious society in connection with different churches, but mostly with the Episcopal Church. After the revolutionary war, the Episcopal clergy became very scarce, and in far the greatest number of our societies, we had no way of receiving the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. It was this that led many of our preachers, as you well know, to take upon them the administration of the ordinances. Mr. Rankin, who was our first general assistant, after staying the time in this country he came for, returned home. This was at a time when we had no intercourse

with England, and Mr. Asbury, the only old preacher that determined (in those perilous times) to give up his parents, country and all his natural connections, was finally and unanimously chosen by the preachers (assembled in conference) our general assistant. He continued such until the year 1784, when the Doctor came over, and not only the name of general assistant was changed to that of superintendent, but we formed ourselves into a separate church. This change was proposed to us by Mr. Wesley, after we had craved his advice on the subject; but could not take effect till adopted by us: which was done in a deliberate formal manner, at a conference called for that purpose: in which there was not one dissenting voice. Every one of any discernment must see from Mr. Wesley's circular letter on this occasion, as well as from every part of our mode of church government, that we openly and avowedly declared ourselves episcopalians; though the doctor and Mr. Asbury were called superintendents. After a few years, the name from superintendent was changed to bishops. But from first to last, the business of general assistant, superintendent or bishop, has been the same; only since we have become a distinct church, he has with the assistance of two or three elders, ordained our ministers; whose business it is to preside in our conferences; and in case of an equal division on a question, he has the casting vote; but in no instance whatever he has a negative, as you are told. He has also the stationing of all the travelling preachers under certain limitations. Which power as it is given him by the general conference, so it can be lessened, or taken from him at any time the conference sees fit. (*) But while he superintends the whole work, he cannot interfere with the particular charge of any of the preachers in their stations. To see that the preachers fill their places with propriety, and to understand the state of every station or circuit, that he may the better make the appointment of the preachers, is no doubt, no small part of his duty; but he has nothing to do with receiving, censuring, or excluding members; this belongs wholly to the stationed preacher and members." *Memoirs*, p. 103.

(*) As our General Conferences were originally constituted, they possessed the power of our whole body of ministers. Whatever the powers of the present delegated General Conference are spoken of in this work, it is of course to be understood agreeably to the principles of the respective limitations.

But the question here recurs, Have we authority from Scripture, or primitive usage, for such a practice? We think we have. In Acts xiii, 1-3, we have the following account of the consecration of Barnabas and Saul:—"Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away."

Whatever may be said of the peculiar work and office of *Barnabas*, none can question the *apostleship* of Saul, afterwards called the *apostle Paul*, and that as such, he held a rank superior to the elders; and yet he was ordained to this office by those who are here called "prophets and teachers," neither of whom has ever been ranked among the apostles. The undeniable inference is, that in the apostolic days, the inherent right of ordination was in the body of elders, as it is most manifest that neither of those who assisted in the consecration of St. Paul was higher in office than that of an elder. And as these holy men ordained Paul and Barnabas, and sent them away to plant and organize other churches in Seleucia, Cyprus and Salamis, verses 4-5, so Wesley and other elders of the English Church ordained Dr. Coke as a superintendent, and *sent him away*, "commended by the grace of God," to organize a church in the wilds of America. The resemblance indeed is striking, and indicates something more than "mere human contrivance."

That Timothy exercised an authority over the elders, we have already seen; and yet he, it seems, was ordained by them; for the apostle says to him, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," 1 Tim. iv, 14. It is true, that in the second epistle, ch. i, 6, the apostle exhorts him to "stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." These two passages may be reconciled either by supposing that the apostle himself ordained Timothy first to the office of a deacon,—which is according to the practice

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now in an episcopal church,—and that he was afterwards ordained to the office of an elder by the presbyters; or, that the apostle assisted, as president of the college of presbyters, at the ordination of Timothy to his peculiar work as an evangelist.

That the right of ordination was originally inherent in the body of elders, and that they exercised it in the manner we have supposed, namely, to create a superior officer, is also manifest from the following quotation:—"Eutychius, the patriarch of Alexandria, saith in his *Origines Ecclesiae Alexandrianæ*, published in Arabic by our most learned Selden, *that the twelve presbyters constituted by MARK, upon the vacancy of the see, did choose out of their number one to be head over the rest, and the other eleven did lay their hands upon him, and blessed him, and made him patriarch.*" See Stillingfleet, p. 274. And even Bishop Hoadly, an avowed enemy to non-conformity, allows the truth of St. Jerome's statement, that the presbyters of Alexandria continued this practice for 200 years, from the days of St. Mark to those of Dionysius.

In this quotation we have—

1. An announcement of the fact that Mark, imitating the conduct of St. Paul, who ordained Timothy, and also of Timothy, who ordained "elders in every city," constituted or ordained elders or presbyters in the church at Alexandria.

2. That these elders then selected one as their *superior minister*, on whom they laid their hands, and thus consecrated him to his high office. By this precedent also, the act of Mr. Wesley and his associates in ordaining Dr. Coke is justified.

The true state of the case appears to be this. In the primitive church the original right, the inherent power of ordaining ministers, was considered to be in the body of elders; but as, in the increase of the work, the exercising of this right in their collective capacity became oftentimes inconvenient; and as the great, itinerating evangelists, in their extensive travels, and their success in making converts to the Christian faith, found it needful and expedient to ordain pastors to take charge of the newly gathered flocks; the power of ordination was delegated by the elders to them, that they might set the churches in order, provide for the due administration of the Christian ordinances,

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by "ordaining elders in every city." This right being once conceded, in after times, when the purity of the ministerial character was exchanged for pride and ambition, the power of ordaining was claimed by the successors of those primitive men of God as their original right; and hence originated the doctrine of high-toned diocesan episcopacy, founding its exclusive claims to the power of ordination on a regular, uninterrupted succession of bishops, of a rank superior to elders, and possessing an authority, *jure divino*, over them and the whole church; a doctrine we believe justly classed among the fabulous legends of a corrupt church, and a fallen priesthood.

But leaving out of view, for argument's sake, the recommendation of Mr. Wesley altogether, we are still prepared, in the circumstances which then existed, to defend the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Had Mr. Asbury been actuated by the dishonorable motives of ambition and self aggrandizement imputed to him, how easy had it been for him to have accomplished his purpose, and to have organized a church in America, with himself at its head, independently of Mr. Wesley, and of the whole European connection. And what plausible pretext, or occasion, did he want? Early in the revolutionary struggle, every other English preacher had fled. He alone, through the contest, devoted himself to American Methodism, at the risk and hazard of every thing dear. Mr. Wesley himself had openly and publicly espoused the royal cause against the colonies. This greatly embarrassed the American Methodists, and especially the preachers, who were watched, and hunted, and imprisoned, and beaten, as his emissaries; and, through him, as the *disguised* emissaries of Great Britain. The societies, except in a very few instances, were destitute of the sacraments. They could neither obtain baptism for their children, nor the Lord's supper for themselves. On this account, as early as 1778, Mr. Asbury was earnestly importuned to take measures that the Methodists might enjoy the same privileges as other churches. He resisted the proposal. Yet so serious was the crisis, that a large number of the preachers, to satisfy the urgent necessities of the societies, chose from among themselves three senior brethren, who ordained others by the imposition of their hands. Among these were some of the ablest

and most influential men then in the connection. Surely no man ever had a fairer, or a more plausible opportunity than Mr. Asbury there had, to organize and to place himself at the head of the Methodist Church in America, independently of Mr. Wesley. Yet it was he who, with the late venerable Watters, Garrettson, and others, resolutely remained in connection with Mr. Wesley; and rested not till by his indefatigable labors the whole of the seceding body were brought back, to await and to abide by Mr. Wesley's advice. And this is the same man, who, after his death, is now charged with the vilest dissimulation and hypocrisy, and with violating the obligations both of "honor" and of "truth," for the sake of organizing a church, separate from and independent of Mr. Wesley, with himself at its head, in conjunction with another!

Dr. Coke was appointed and set apart by Mr. Wesley, aided by other presbyters, as a general superintendent of the American Methodists. In that character he was *unanimously received* by the American conference, and with their consent was to exercise episcopal powers among them, and to act as bishop, though called a superintendent.

Mr. Asbury was unanimously chosen by the same conference, to be a general superintendent conjointly with Dr. Coke. He was first ordained deacon and elder, and then superintendent, agreeably to the unanimous voice of the conference, by Dr. Coke, a presbyter of the Church of England, and Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, who had been previously ordained presbyters by Mr. Wesley, Dr. Coke, and Mr. Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England, with the assistance of Mr. Otterbine, a presbyter of the German Reformed Church.

The intention of the conference was, that Mr. Asbury also should exercise episcopal powers, and act as a bishop, though to be called a superintendent: and the church was then, and thenceforth, called the Methodist Episcopal Church.

But if there be any law, divine or human, prohibiting or proscribing such an episcopacy, let it be produced. Let the edict itself be shown, and let not any man think us impertinent if in demanding the production of it, we require that the terms of the edict be very express and positive.

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If this matter be pressed still farther, we then insist that the unanimous election and appointing of the first Methodist bishops was of itself sufficient, in the circumstances then existing, to constitute a valid episcopacy, according to the judgment of Archbishop Cranmer, and those divines who concurred with him, as stated by Stillingfleet. And those who maintain that any other authority was indispensable to its legitimacy, produce their warrant. And let them remember beforehand that we are not to be governed by tradition.

If it be objected that those proceedings took place among the preachers only, we answer: 'This was undeniably in accordance with the original principle on which the Methodist societies had been gathered, and united by the preachers, who determined on what principles of discipline and of administration they would devote themselves to take charge of, to guide, and to serve, those who, *upon these principles*, chose to place themselves under their care, and especially upon what principles they could feel themselves at liberty to administer to them the ordinances.

If there were any law of God, or man, making this "illegitimate," unlawful, on the part of the preachers, let this edict also be produced. In the days of "the *fathers*" and of the *founders* of Methodism, at all events, both in Europe and in America, we hazard the assertion that these were principles recognized and acquiesced in by the Methodist people also. That it necessarily follows, however, from these premises, that any modification of this system, in all after time, and in any change of circumstances, is absolutely precluded, is what we do not here mean to say. Nor is that a field into which our present subject requires us at all to enter.

But leaving out of view, for the present, any circumstances which might be collected of the divine approbation of the proceedings of the conference of 1784, from the great and signal blessings which followed upon the labors of the preachers, and the special prosperity of the work from that time, we will conclude this part of our subject with an argument, which, with some of our opponents perhaps, may have more weight.

We maintain, then, that the proceedings of that conference in organizing the "Methodist Episcopal Church," with general superinten-

dents, vested with episcopal powers, and intended to act as bishops, were, in *fact*, if not in *form*, approved and sanctioned by the people, the Methodist people, of that day. And that the preachers set apart at that conference, in their appropriate and respective characters, as deacons, elders, and superintendents or bishops, were freely and cordially received and greeted by the people, as such; and the sacraments gladly accepted, as they had long been urgently demanded, at their hands. Our proofs follow.

"The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a church; and *heartily united together, in the plan which the conference had adopted. And from that time religion greatly revived.*"—*Lee's History*, p. 107.

"December 35, 1784.—We became, instead of a religious society, a separate church, under the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This change gave *great satisfaction through all our societies.*"—*Wm. Watters, Memoirs by himself*, p. 102.

"The conference met in December, 1784. It was unanimously agreed that circumstances made it expedient for the Methodist societies in America to become a separate body from the Church of England. They also resolved to take the title, and to be known in future by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They made the Episcopal office elective,—Mr. Asbury was unanimously elected, and Dr. Coke was almost unanimously received, jointly with him, to be the superintendents, or bishops, of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*.—From that time the Methodist societies in the United States became an independent church, under the episcopal mode and form of government. *This step met with general approbation, both among the members and the preachers.* Perhaps we shall seldom find such unanimity of sentiment, upon any question of such magnitude."—*Rev. E. Cooper, on Asbury*, pp. 108, 109.

Of those who were members of the church at that period, very few are now living. And of such as are, these are not they who now complain of that act. That those who have voluntarily united themselves to this church since, knowing it to be thus constituted;—and some perhaps who have left other churches to join it;—or boys of yesterday, who but a few days ago solicited admission into it, thus organ-

ized;—that these should now represent the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a tyrannical *usurpation over them*, is an abuse of language so gross, that we marvel how men of common intellect or conscience can allow themselves in it.

The following is a copy of a letter from Mr. Wesley to Mr. Asbury, transcribed from the original. Its contents are in all respects highly interesting. But it is introduced here to show, that though written so recently after the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at a period when Mr. Wesley could not have but known that event, it does not contain one syllable of censure, or of disapprobation. It is dated

Bristol, Sept. 30, 1785.

“MY DEAR BROTHER,—It gives me pleasure to hear that God prospers your labors even in the barren soil of South Carolina. Near fifty years ago, I preached in the church at Charleston; and in a few other places; and deep attention sat on every face. But I am afraid few received any lasting impressions.

“At the next conference it will be worth your while to consider deeply whether any preacher should stay in one place three years together. I startle at this. It is a vehement alteration in the Methodist discipline. We have no such a custom in England, Scotland, or Ireland.

“I myself may perhaps have as much variety of matter, as many of our preachers. Yet I am well assured, were I to preach three years together in one place, both the people and myself would grow as dead as stones. Indeed this is quite contrary to the whole economy of Methodism: God has always wrought among us by a constant change of preachers.

“Newly awakened people should, if it were possible, be plentifully supplied with books. Hereby the awakening is both continued and increased.

“In two or three days I expect to be in London. I will then talk with Mr. Atlay on the head. Be all in earnest for God.

I am, your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.”

In addition to the above treatise, it may perhaps be admissible, to insert accompanied with some appropriate remarks, an extract from a letter written by Mr. Wesley to bishop Asbury, containing some reproofs to the latter, for what Mr. Wesley considered, to be a deviation from that simplicity and plainness, which they professed to practice and teach as methodist preachers.

From this passage it has been assiduously urged, by dissenting methodists and others opposed to the Methodist Episcopacy, that Mr. Wesley never intended the church government of the methodist connection in America, to be *Episcopal*; and that he highly disapproved of its *organization* as such

To evince that Mr. Wesley gave those admonitions with no such view, and to show the true and *only* intent for which he gave them, we give the extract, accompanied with a few remarks from Mr. Moore, which will carry the point beyond a doubt. The extract is as follows;

“But in one point my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the Doctor(*) and you differ from me. I study to be *little*; you study to be *great*. I *creep*, you *strut along*. I found a *school*, you a *college*. (†) Nay and call it after your own names. O beware! do not seek to be something. Let me be nothing, and Christ all and in all.

“One instance of this your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called *Bishop*, I shudder, I start at the very thought. Men may call me a knave, or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content: but they shall never by my consent, call me *Bishop*. For my sake, for God’s sake, for Christ’s sake, put a full end to this.

“Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let Methodists know their calling better.

Thus my dear Franky I have told you all that is in my heart, and let this, when I am no more seen, witness how sincerely I am your affectionate friend and brother.”

“JOHN WESLEY.”

Mr. Moore observes “With respect to the *title* of Bishop, I know that Mr. Wesley enjoined the Doctor and his associates, and in the

(*) Dr. Coke.

(†) Cokesbury College twice burnt down

most solemn manner, that it should not be taken. Mr. Wesley well knew the difference between the *office* and the *title*. He knew and felt the arduous duties and high responsibility, which attaches to the one, and the comparative nothingness of the other."

But he observes further, "The association in his mind, between the *assumed title*, and the display connected with it in the latter ages of the church, was too strong. He could not at that moment, separate the plain laborious Bishops of the American societies, where there is no legal establishment, from the dignified Prelates of the mighty Empire of Great Britain. But, he adds,

"That our brethren who are in that office, are true scriptural Bishops, I have no doubt at all; nor do I wish that the title should be relinquished, as it is grown into use, and is known by every person in the United States to designate men distinguished only by their simplicity and abundant labors."

"He well knew the difference between the *title* and the *office*." Though he highly approved of the office, as its being the most scriptural as well as the most advantageous, yet, he rejected use of the *title* because of the vain "*display* connected with it."

"The association in his mind between the *assumed title* and the display thereof, was too strong." He could not in conscience consent that it should be attached to the devout men, holding the *office*, and superintending the Methodist societies. The Methodist people and preachers were distinguished for their great simplicity and plainness, and their opposition to all needless show and unnecessary display, &c. and therefore, to clothe the *overseers* of these societies with a *title* connected with such display, would in Mr. Wesley's view, have been quite inconsistent with the character already attached to the Methodist cause. He therefore "enjoined that the *title* of Bishop should not be taken." But, (as says Mr. Moore) "he gave those *Episkopoi*, (Bishops) whom he had ordained the modest but highly expressive *title* of *Superintendents*, and desired that no other might be used."

That in so doing he acted according to his own *scriptural* views on that subject is manifest from his reply to his brother's sharp rebukes wherein he accuses him of 'acting as a Bishop.' Mr. Wesley does not pretend to deny the charge but *justifies* his conduct by replying,

" I firmly believe that I am a scriptural *Episkopos* [Bishop] as much as any man in England or Europe. For an *uninterrupted succession* I know to be a fable which no man can prove."

If therefore he "firmly believed himself to be a scriptural *Episkopos*, [Bishop] and if he ordained Dr. Coke as such, and sent me to ordain Mr. Asbury to the same *office*, and directed that they a joint *Episkopoi*, or superintendents, should preside over the Methodist connection in North America," as was in fact the case, where can there be the least ground for any person to affirm, or even to suspect, that Mr. Wesley never designed that the government of the church about to be organized should be *scripturally* Episcopal?

Those superintendents, in obedience to Mr. Wesley's injunction, were for some years after the organization of the church, known only by the name which he had desired should be used. They at length consented, however, to the more *scriptural* name of Bishop; being beyond the reach of the dignified display connected with that *title* in Europe, and in a country where it was *only known* to designate men distinguished for their simplicity and abundant labours.'

Mr. Wesley learning that they were *called* by this *title*, felt probably that his authority, and desire, were not properly regarded; and from the great distance betwixt him and them, together with the revolution and change of affairs in America, he was doubtless unable to discern the proper impression conveyed by the term in this country. 'He could not, (as quoted above) at that moment separate the plain laborious Bishops of the American Societies, where there is no legal establishment, from the dignified Prelates of Great Britain.'

He therefore wrote to Mr. Asbury a letter containing the above censures. In this Mr. Moore observes "he acted according to his own rule: 'Tell every one what you think wrong in him?'"

Notwithstanding these sharp censures, Mr. Asbury never lost his attachment and veneration for Mr. Wesley's character: being confident in his own mind, that Mr. Wesley received those impressions in a great degree, by the misrepresentations of some one or more persons opposed to his [Mr. Asbury's] interest. And that he received erroneous impressions in respect to both the Doctor and Mr. Asbury, is

evident from what he says of their founding a college. "I found a School," says he, "you a College. Nay, and call it after your own names."

Now the truth is, relative to Cokesbury college, so called, it was no more than a classical school like that of Kingswood, founded by Mr. Wesley, although called "a college." And with regard to calling it after their own names, it did not *originate* with either of them. The circumstance was this: The subject of naming it was brought before the conference: Some proposed calling it Coke's College and some Asbury's College; while others were for having it New Kingswood. And in order to end the *dispute*, Dr. Coke observed, that they might unite the names of Coke and Asbury, and call it Cokesbury; which was accordingly done by a vote of the conference. How different this from the impression conveyed in Mr. Wesley's letter.

Now if the impressions Mr. Wesley received concerning so public an affair as a classical school, founded by the Methodist Superintendents, and the only one then in this country, were so foreign to the *truth* of the affair, is it at all strange that he should also receive, and entertain incorrect views, of the conduct of those Superintendents respecting their "being called Bishops"; and especially, with regard to the impression conveyed by that term in this country?

If the enemies of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury would misrepresent the case of the school to Mr. Wesley, is it at all probable that they would neglect to employ their "title of Bishop" for the same infamous purpose? And if so, it is no wonder that Mr. Wesley wrote as he did.

Now from the above considerations is it not sufficiently clear, that it was Mr. Asbury's being *called* a Bishop instead of *the being* one which laid the foundation of this censure?

CHAPTER II.

Cokesbury College—General progress of Religion with the notice of the yearly Conferences—Origin of Camp-Meetings &c.

From Dr. Coke's first arrival in America, when he viewed with pleasing anticipations the aspect of subsequent prosperity, which this branch of Zion seemed to assume, he had contemplated the erection of a seminary of learning, for the advantage of the married preachers

and the friends in general of this growing Church. "Our object is not," he observes, "to raise gospel ministers, but to serve our pious friends and our married preachers, in the proper education of their sons."

To accomplish this grand design, he, in co-operation with Mr. Asbury, appealed to the liberality of the people as they traversed the U. States, in attending to the functions of their office as superintendents of the Church. Many, they found, who being pleased with the object, made generous contributions for that design. Many of the preachers in the circuits also, urged the propriety of the plan, and used their efforts in its promotion.

Having thus made considerable preparation by obtaining funds, orders were given by the superintendents, for the materials for the contemplated building to be procured and brought to the spot.

The place selected for this edifice, was on a rising eminence about twenty-five miles from Baltimore. Four acres of land were embraced within the boundaries, for which was paid to a Mr. Dallam, sixty pounds sterling. "This situation" observes Dr. Coke, when reviewing the ground and adjacent scenery on a subsequent occasion, "delights me more than ever. There is not, I believe, a point of it from whence the eye has not a view for at least twenty miles; and in some parts the prospect extends even to fifty miles in length. The water forms one of the most beautiful views in the United States; the Chesapeake Bay in all its grandeur, with a fine navigable river, the Susquehanna, which empties itself into it, lying exposed to view through a great extent of country.

Cokesbury College, so called, (for so it was named by the Conference) was in progress some years before its completion; and was finally burnt down in 1792, having remained but about seven years from its first commencement.

To exhibit the principles by which this institution was governed, we need only present our readers with the catalogue of rules introduced for its regulation. They are as follows:

1. The students shall rise at five o'clock in the morning, summer and winter, at the ringing of a bell.
2. All the students shall assemble together at 6 o'clock for public prayer, except in cases of sickness; and on any omission shall be responsible to the master.

3. From morning prayer till seven, they shall be allowed to recreate themselves, as hereafter directed.

4. At seven they shall breakfast.

5. From eight till twelve they are to be closely kept at their respective studies.

6. From twelve to three they are to employ themselves in recreation and dining; dinner to be ready at one o'clock.

7. From three till six, they are again to be kept closely to their studies.

8. At six they sup.

9. At seven there shall be public prayers.

10. From evening prayer till bed-time, they shall be allowed recreation.

11. They shall all be in bed at nine o'clock, without fail.

12. Their recreations shall be gardening, walking, riding, and bathing without doors; and the carpenter's, joiner's, cabinet-maker's, or turner's business within doors.

13. A large plot of ground shall be appropriated for a garden, and a person skilled in gardening shall be appointed to overlook the students, employed in their recreation.

14. A convenient bath shall be made for bathing.

15. A master, or some proper person by him appointed, shall be always present at the time of bathing. Only one shall bathe at a time, and no one shall remain in the water above a minute.

16. No student shall be allowed to bathe in the river.

17. A place for working in wood shall be provided on the premises, with all proper instruments and materials, and a skilful person be employed to overlook the students at this recreation.

18. The students shall be indulged with nothing which the world calls *play*. Let this rule be observed with the strictest nicety; for those who play when they are young, will play when they are old.

19. Each student shall have a bed to himself wherever he boards.

20. The students shall lie on mattresses, not on feather beds; because we believe the mattresses to be more healthful.

21. The masters shall strictly examine from time to time, whether those who board the students (if they board out of the seminary) comply with these rules, so far as they concern them.

22. A skilful physician shall be engaged to attend the students on every emergency, that the parents may be fully assured, that proper care shall be taken of the health of their children.

23. The Bishops shall examine by themselves, or their delegates, into the progress of the students in learning, every half-year, or oftener if possible.

24. The Elders, Deacons, and Preachers, as often as they visit the seminaries respectively, shall examine the students concerning their knowledge of God and religion.

25. The students shall be divided into proper classes for that purpose.

26. A pupil, who has a total incapacity to attain learning, shall, after sufficient trial, be returned to his parents.

27. If a student be convicted of any open sin, he shall for the first offence be reprov'd in private; for the second offence he shall be reprov'd in public; and for the third offence he shall be punished at the discretion of the master.

28. Idleness, or any other fault, may be punished with confinement, according to the discretion of the master.

29. A convenient room shall be set apart as a place of confinement.

Such were the regulations, which after having been maturely weigh'd by the conferences, were presented by Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury to the seminary.

Disheartened by the disastrous event which befel this costly edifice, Mr. Asbury was resolv'd to do nothing more in erecting colleges, but to apply himself to the more immediate means of saving souls. But Dr. Coke not so much disparag'd with the occurrence, was prevail'd upon by many of his able and respectable friends, to make a second effort, and rebuild the seminary; for an encouragement to the undertaking, the sum of £1020 was subscribed toward the erection of another building.

But it happened about that time, that a spacious building that was erected for balls, was then vacant in the city of Baltimore. Application was therefore made to the owner, and the whole premises were purchased for the sum of £5,300. There being more ground than was needed for the seminary, they erected a church on the remaining

part. Their college and church were therefore fitted up for use, and the seminary soon began to flourish. But in the beginning of the year 1797, as some boys were making a bonfire with shavings in an adjoining house, the flame caught the house in which they were assembled, from which the church and college took fire and burnt to the ground in defiance of all the efforts to extinguish them. The total loss of the three buildings now burnt was estimated at £10,000 sterling.

In 1784 we had three conference. The fourteenth conference was held at Green Hill's, in North Carolina, on the 20 of April. The fifteenth conference was held at Mr. Mason's in Brunswick county, in Virginia, on the 1 day of May. The sixteenth conference was held in Baltimore on the 1 day of June.

This was the first time that we had more than one regular conference in the same year. For a few years before this, we had two conferences in the same year, but they were considered only as one, first begun in one place, and adjourned to another. Now there were three, and no adjournment. I have therefore considered the conferences as but one in the year, and have numbered them accordingly; but from this time I shall consider the number of the conferences as I find them in the minutes. This year and the two succeeding years, the minutes were called, "Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America."

The business of the three conferences was all arranged in the minutes as if it had all been done at one time and place. (*) And for the first time we had the annual minutes printed, which practice we have followed ever since.

We admitted twenty-eight young preachers on trial. We had fifty-two circuits in all, and one hundred and two preachers. We added to the society three thousand and twelve members this year; including those in Nova-Scotia and in Antigua. The whole number of members was mentioned this year in the minutes, without telling us how many there were in each circuit.

The form of the minutes of conference was changed this year, and all the *Elders* who were directed to take the oversight of several cir-

(*) This arrangement was for the year as given above.

cuits, were set to the right hand of the bracket, which enclosed all the circuits and preachers of which he was to take charge.

This may be considered as the begining of the presiding elder's office; although it was not known by that name at that time; yet in the absence of a *Superintendent*, this *Elder* had the directing of all the preachers that were inclosed in the bracket against which his name was set.

As soon as the conference in Baltimore was over, Dr. Coke sailed for Europe.

There was a great revival of religion this year in most parts of the connection, both in the North and South. On the Eastern shore of Maryland, the work was great, and many souls were brought into the liberty of the children of God.

In 1786, we had three conferences. The seventeenth conference was held at Salisbury in North Carolina, on the 21 of February. The eighteenth conference was held in Virginia, at Lane's chapel, on the 10 day of April. The nineteenth conference was held at Baltimore on the 8 day of May.

We admitted on trial twenty-three young preachers. Seven hundred and ninety-one members were added to the society.

We had fifty-six circuits this year, and one hundred and sixteen travelling preachers, which was a good supply of laborers.

Five circuits were also added, which were the following with their respective supply of preachers:

<i>Broad River,</i>	Stephen Johnson.
<i>Santee,</i>	Richard Smith.
<i>Pee Dee,</i>	Jeremiah Mastin.
<i>Nova-Scotia,</i>	William Black John Mann.
<i>Newark,</i>	John Dickins.

This year we sent preachers to Kentucky for the first time; *James Haw* and *Benjamin Ogden* went to that new settled country, and laboured with great success, and were prospered in their endeavors to build up the redeemer's kingdom. They collected a good many societies together in the course of that year; and many people in the Western country will have cause to bless God for the coming of those preachers into that part of the world.

At the conference at Lane's chappel in Virginia, there was a proposal made for preachers to go to Georgia; and if any felt freedom to offer themselves as missionaries for that service, they were requested to speak: several persons offered, more than could be spared. It was concluded that two only should go, and Thomas Humphries, and John Major, were accepted. They went forth in the name of the Lord, and were made a blessing to many of the inhabitants of Georgia. They formed a circuit up and down the Savannah river, and round by Little river, and the town of Washington; and in the course of that year they collected together and joined into society four hundred and fifty members. Mr. Major continued in Georgia about two years, and died in peace.

This was a prosperous year with our societies; many were added to us, and joined among us; and the work of the Lord revived in general where we labored, and in some places, souls were gathered in by scores. Many of the old Christians took a fresh start, and the holy fire kindled, and spread from heart to heart.

In 1787, we had three conferences. The twentieth conference was held at Sailsbury, in North Carolina, on the 17 day of March. The twenty-first conference was held at Rough Creek church in Virginia, on the 19 day of April. The twenty-second conference was held at Baltimore on the 1 day of May.

We admitted on trial thirty-four young preachers; and added to the society seven thousand and eighty-two members, according to the minutes, but strictly speaking, we had an increase of eight thousand five hundred and ninety-two members. In our minutes for the last year, we had taken in the members from Nova-Scotia and Antigua; but this year we left them off, and did not take them into the numbers; and they amounted to one thousand five hundred and ten. This year for the first time, the numbers in society were taken in each state separately.

We had now sixty-five circuits in the United States, and one hundred and thirty-one traveling preachers.

The new circuits annexed with their respective preachers, were as follows.

<i>Burke,</i>	John Major, Matthew Harris.
<i>Augusta,</i>	Thomas Humphrus, Moses Park.
<i>Edisto,</i>	Edward West,
<i>Bladen,</i>	Daniel Combs.
<i>Banks,</i>	David Haggard.
<i>Greenbrier,</i>	John Smith.
<i>Williamsburgh,</i>	Stephen Johnson.
<i>Nollechuckie,</i>	Thomas Ware, Micajah Tracy.
<i>Kentuckey,</i>	Thomas Williamson, Wilson Lee.
<i>Clarksburgh,</i>	Robert Cann, Richard Pearson.
<i>Ohio,</i>	Charles Conway, George Calahan.
<i>Bath,</i>	Robert Ayers, Michael Leard.
<i>Elizabeth Town,</i>	Robert Cloud. Thomas Morrel.
<i>New Rochelle,</i>	Samuel Q. Talbot.

At the Baltimore conference the preachers complained of Dr. Coke, because he had taken upon himself a right which they never gave him, of altering the time and place of holding our conferences, after it had been settled and fixed on at the previous conference. Another complaint was brought against him for writing improper letters to some of our preachers, such as were calculated to stir up strife and contention among them.

At that time the Doctor saw the preachers were pretty generally united against him: he acknowledged his faults, begged pardon, and promised not to meddle with our affairs again when he was out of the United States. He then gave in writing a certificate to the same purpose, which was as follows:

“The certificate of Dr. Coke to the Conference.

“I do solemnly engage by this instrument, that I never will, by virtue of my office, as superintendent of the Methodist Church, during my absence from the United States of America, exercise any government whatever in the said Methodist Church. And I do also engage, that I will exercise no privilege in the said church when present in the United States, except that of ordaining according to the regulations and law, already existing, or hereafter to be made in the said church, and that of presiding when present in conference, and lastly that of trav-

elling at large. Given under my hand the second day of May, in the year 1787.

THOMAS COKE."

Witnesses { John Tunnil,
John Hagerty,
Nelson Reed.

The preachers then agreed to forgive what was past, provided this condition should be expressed in the minutes; which was done thus:

Q. "Who are the superintendents of our church for the United States?"

A. "Thomas Coke (when present in the States) and Francis Asbury."

At this conference it was agreed, that no married preacher should demand more money than the allowance for himself and wife.

Mr. Wesley also directed that Richard Whatcoat should be ordained a joint superintendent with Mr. Asbury. When this business was brought before the conference, most of the preachers objected and would not consent to it. The reasons against it were, 1. That he was not qualified to take the charge of the connection. 2. That they were apprehensive that if Mr. Whatcoat was ordained, Mr. Wesley would likely recall Mr. Asbury, and he would return to England.

Dr. Coke contended that we were obliged to receive Mr. Whatcoat, because we had said in the minutes taken at the Christmas conference, when we were first formed into a church in 1784, "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the gospel, ready in matters belonging to church government, to obey his commands."

Many of the members of that conference argued that they were not at the conference when that engagement was entered into, and that they did not consider themselves bound by it. Other preachers, who had said they were "ready to obey his commands," said they did not feel ready now to obey his command. The preachers at last agreed to depart from that engagement, which some of the elder brethren had formerly entered into, and in the next printed minutes, that engagement was left out.

They had made the engagement of their own accord, and among themselves, and they believed they had a right to depart therefrom

when they pleased, seeing it was not a contract made with Mr. Wesley, or any other person, but an agreement among themselves. It was farther argued, that Mr. Wesley, while in England, could not tell what man was qualified to govern us, as well as we could who were present, and were to be governed. We believe also, that if Mr. Wesley was here himself, he would be of the same opinion with us.

We then wrote a long and loving letter to Mr. Wesley, and requested him to come over to America, and visit his spiritual children.

This step of receding from the above engagement, was afterwards considered by some disaffected persons, as improper. If there was any thing improper in the business, it was in entering into the engagement, and not in departing from it.

In the course of this year Mr. Asbury reprinted the general minutes; but in a different form from what they were before. The title of this pamphlet was as follows:

“A form of Discipline for the ministers, preachers, and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America; considered and approved at a Conference held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday the 27 day of December, 1784. In which the Reverend Thomas Coke, LL. D. and the Rev. Francis Asbury, presided. Arranged under proper heads, and methodized in a more acceptable and easy manner.”

In this Discipline there were thirty one sections, and sixty-three questions, with answers to them all.

The third question in the second section, and the answer, read thus:

Q. Is there any other business to be done in conference?

A. The electing and ordaining of Bishops, Elders, and Deacons.

This was the first time that our superintendents ever gave themselves the title of Bishops in the minutes. They changed the title themselves, without the consent of the Conference; and at the next conference, they asked the preachers if the word *Bishop* might stand in the minutes, seeing it was a Scripture name, and the meaning of the word Bishop was the same with that of Superintendent.

Some of the preachers opposed the alteration, and wished to retain the former title; but a majority of preachers agreed to let the word Bishop remain; and in the annual minutes for the next year, the first

question is "Who are the Bishops of our church for the U. States?"

In the third section of this form of Discipline, and in the sixth page, it is said, "We have constituted ourselves into an *Episcopal Church* under the direction of *Bishops, Elders, Deacons* and *Preachers*, according to the form of ordination annexed to our prayer book, and the regulations laid down in this form of discipline. From that time the name of Bishop has been in common use among us, both in conversation and in writing.

The last section is as follows: "As it has been frequently recommended by the preachers and people, that such books as are wanted, be printed in this country, we therefore propose—

1. That the advice of the conference shall be desired concerning any valuable impression, and that their consent be obtained before any steps be taken for the printing thereof.

2. That the profits of the books, after all the necessary expenses are defrayed, shall be applied, according to the discretion of the conference, towards the college, the preacher's fund, the deficiencies of the preachers, the distant missions, or the debts on our churches."

From that time we began to print more of our own books in the United States than we had done before; and the principal part of the printing business was carried on in New-York.

We had a remarkable revival of religion this year. The heavenly flame spread greatly in various directions. Such a time for the awakening and conversion of sinners was never seen before among the Methodists in America. The greatest revival was in the south part of Virginia, which began in July, and continued to prosper throughout the year.

There was a remarkable revival of religion in the town of Petersburg, and many of the inhabitants were savingly converted; and old christians greatly revived. That town never witnessed before or since, such wonderful displays of the presence and love of God in the salvation of immortal souls. Prayer meetings were frequently held both in the town and country, and souls were frequently converted at those meetings, even when there was no preacher present; for the prayers and exhortations of the members were greatly owned of the Lord.

The most remarkable work of all was in Sussex and Brunswick

circuits, where the meetings would frequently continue for five or six hours together, and sometimes all night.

At one quarterly meeting, held at Mabry's Chapel, in Brunswick circuit, on the 25 and 26 of July, the power of God was among the people in an extraordinary manner: some hundreds were awakened, and it was supposed that above one hundred souls were converted at that meeting, which continued for two days, i. e., on Thursday and Friday. Some thousands of people attended meeting at that place on that occasion.

The next quarterly meeting was held at Jone's Chapel, in Sussex county, on Saturday and Sunday the 27th and 28th of July. This meeting was favored with more of the divine presence than any other that had been known before. The sight of the mourners was enough to penetrate the most careless heart. The divine power was felt among the people before the preachers came together. Many of the young converts from the quarterly meeting which had been held two days before, at Mabry's, had come together, and uniting with other christians in singing and praying, the heavenly fire had begun to kindle, and the flame of love and holy zeal was spreading among the people, which caused them to break out in loud praises to God. Some, when they met would hang on each other, or embrace each other in their arms, and weep aloud, and praise the Lord with all their might.—The sight of those who were thus overwhelmed with the love and presence of God, would cause sinners to weep and tremble before the Lord.

By the time the preachers came within half a mile of the chapel, they heard the people shouting and praising God. When they came up they found numbers weeping, both in the chapel and in the open air. Some were on the ground crying for mercy, and others in extacies of joy.

The preachers went among the mourners and encouraged them, and prayed with them. The private christians did the same. Some were lying and struggling as if they were in the agonies of death, others lay as if they were dead. Hundreds of the believers were so overcome with the power of God, that they fell down, and lay helpless on the floor or the ground; and some of them continued in that helpless

condition for a considerable time, and were happy in God beyond description. When they came to themselves, it was generally with loud praises to God, and with tears and expressions, enough to melt the hardest heart. The oldest saints had never before seen such a time of love, and such displays of the power of God.

The next day the Society met early, in order to receive the Lord's Supper.

While the society was collected in the house, some of the preachers went into the woods to preach, and while they were preaching, the power of the Lord was felt among the people in such a manner, that they roared and screamed so loud that the preacher could not be heard, and he was compelled to stop. Many scores of both white and black people fell to the earth; and some lay in the deepest distress until the evening. Many of the wealthy people, both men and women, were seen lying in the dust, sweating and rolling on the ground, in their fine broadcloths or silks, crying for mercy.

As night drew on, the mourners were collected together, and many of them were in the most awful distress, and uttered such doleful lamentations that it was frightful to behold them, and enough to affect the most stubborn-hearted sinner. But many of these were filled with the peace and love of God in a moment, and rising up would clap their hands and praise God aloud. It was then as pleasing as it had been awful to behold them.

Many of these people who were happily converted, left their houses and came to the meeting with great opposition to the work of God; but were struck down in an unexpected manner, and converted in a few hours. So mightily did the Lord work, that a great change was wrought in a little time.

The great revival of religion in 1776, which spread extensively through the south part of Virginia, exceeded any thing of the kind that had ever been known before in that part of the country. But the revival this year far exceeds it.

In 1788 we had seven conferences. The twenty-third conference was held in *Charleston*, on the 12 of March.

The twenty-fourth in *Georgia*, on the 9 of April.

The twenty-fifth in *Holstein*, on the 13 of May.

The twenty-sixth in *Petersburg*, in Virginia on the 17 of June. (*)

The twenty-seventh at *Boston Town*, on the 22 of July.

The twenty-eighth at *Baltimore*, on the 9 of September.

The twenty-ninth in Philadelphia, on the 25 of September.

At these conferences we took in nineteen new circuits. In Georgia we took in one. The circuit that was formerly called Augusta was divided, and the lower part was now called Richmond, and the upper part Washington.

In South Carolina we took in *Seleuda* and *Waxsaws* circuits. In North Carolina we took in one called *Anson*; and we took in two among the mountains, called *French Broad*, and *West New River*.— In Virginia we took in below the mountains, *Buckingham*, *Gloucester* and *Rockingham*. In Maryland we took in *Annapolis*, *Hartford* and *Cæcil*. In Pennsylvania we took in *Bristol* and *Pittsburg*. In New York state we took in *Dutchess*, *Shoreham*, *New City*, *Cambridge*, and *Lake Champlain*.

These new circuits were supplied by the following preachers respectively :

Richmond, Matthew Harris.

Washington Hope Hull, James Conner.

Seleuda, Lemuel Andrews.

Waxsaws, Michael Burdge.

Anson, David Haggard.

Buckingham, Joseph Dawson.

Gloucester, Stephen Johnson, Aquila Sugg.

Rockingham, William Phæbus, James Riggins.

Montgomery, Robt. Green, John Allen.

Huntingdon, Samuel Breeze, Daniel Combs.

Annapolis, John Hagerty.

Hartford, James Cooper George Hagerty.

Cæcil, John Smith, George Wells.

Pittsburg, Charles Conway.

Bristol, William Dougherty.

French Broad, Daniel Asbury.

(*) This conference was appointed at Benjamin Hawley's, in Amelia county, but by some means he lost his reason, and the conference could not meet at his house, and were under the necessity of meeting in the town of Petersburg.

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Salem, Joseph Cromwell, Nath'l. C. Miller, John Cooper.

Flanders, Jesse Lee, Aaron Hutchinson, John Lee.

Duchess, Cornelius Cook, Andrew Harpending.

Shoreham, Darius Dunham.

New-City, Samuel Q. Talbot, David Kendall.

Cambridge, Lemuel Smith.

Lake Champlain, Samuel Wighton. (*)

"Some of these circuits had been taken off from the old circuits, which had been enlarged till there was room for more preachers, and then by dividing them we made two circuits out of one. But the most of them were formed where there had been none before; and where there had been but little if any preaching by the Methodists till the present year.

We admitted on trial fifty-two young preachers. We added 11,481 members to the society. By the following statement it may be seen in what part of the United States the work of God was most prosperous. The increase this year in the different States is as follows:

777 In the State of Georgia,

704 In South Carolina,

955 In North Carolina,

4761 In Virginia and Kentucky,

2475 In Maryland,

544 In Delaware and Pennsylvania,

404 In New-Jersey, and

861 In New-York State.

11,481

This year the circuits were for the first time numbered in the minutes, and there were eighty-five. We had one hundred and sixty-five traveling preachers, which was a good supply for the circuits. We had other invitations from different parts of the country to send them preachers to labor among them; but we were not able to an-

(*) These are copied from the minutes of that year which do not quite agree with the preceding account from Rev. Jesse Lee.

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swer all the demands of the people ; yet we increased and enlarged our borders greatly.

When the minutes for this year were printed, the condition of Dr Coke's being a bishop "when in the U. States," was left out, and the question was changed, and was entered thus :

Q. "*Who are the bishops of the U. States for our church ?*"

A. "Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury."

From this conference in 1788, Mr. Freeborn Garrettson was appointed presiding elder for the district north of the city of New-York, including all the circuits from *New-Rochelle* to *Lake Champlain*. His labors, and the labors of those preachers who traveled under his direction, were greatly prospered, and many souls were brought to the knowledge of God by their ministry.—Hundreds and thousands of people in the new circuits in that district, will have cause to be thankful for the gospel truths that were disseminated among them in the course of the year. Many were awakened, and many were converted ; and old professors much revived.

During the time of the conference, we were highly favored of the Lord, and souls were awakened and converted. On Sunday, the 14 of September, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Asbury preached in Mr. Otterbein's church ; and the people were generally solemn and much affected ; he then asked another preacher to pray and conclude : and whilst he was praying, an awful power was felt among the people. Some of them cried out aloud. The preachers went among them, and encouraged the mourners to look to the Lord, and prayed with them ; and in a little time there was such a noise among them, that, many of the christian people were immeasurably frightened, and as there was no opportunity for them to escape at the door, many of them went out at the windows, hastening to their homes. The noise had alarmed hundreds of people who were not at the meeting, and they came running to see what was the matter, till the house was crowded, and surrounded with a wondering multitude. In a short time some of the mourners lost the use of their limbs, and lay helpless on the floor, or in the arms of their friends. It was not long before some of them were converted, and rose up with streaming eyes, giving glory to God that he had taken away their sins.

This meeting continued about two hours and a half, after the sermon was ended; in which time about twenty persons professed to be converted. This day of the Lord's power will never be forgotten by many who were present.

In 1789 we had eleven conferences, which were as follows:

The thirtieth conference was held in Georgia on the 9 of March.

The thirty-first in Charleston, on the 17 of March.

The thirty-second at M'Knight's meeting house, on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina, on the 11 of April.

The thirty-third in Petersburg, on the 18 of April.

The thirty-fourth at Leesburgh, on the 28 of April.

The thirty-fifth in Baltimore, on the 4 of May,

The thirty-sixth at Cokesbury on the 9 of May.

The thirty-seventh at Chestertown, on the 13 of May.

The thirty-eighth at Philadelphia, on the 18 of May.

The thirty-ninth at Trenton, new Jersey, on the 23 of May.

The fortieth in New-York, on the 28 of May.

Several of these conferences were within thirty or forty miles of each other; which was pretty generally disliked; but at that time the bishop had the right of appointing as many conferences as he thought proper, and at such times and places as he judged best; but since then, the general conference fixes the number of annual conferences to be held in each year, having appointed the bounds of each of them.

At these conferences we took in fourteen new circuits and stations. In South Carolina two, one was called *Bush River*, and the other *Little Pee Dee*. In North Carolina, one called *Pamlico*. In Virginia two, *Greensville* and *Bottetourt*. In Maryland, *Baltimore Town*, which was separated from the Baltimore circuit, and for the first time had a preacher stationed at the town. In Delaware, *Wilmington*, a station, and a new circuit, called *Milford*. In New Jersey, one circuit was divided, the new part was called *Burlington*. In New-York State we had four new circuits, *Newburgh*, *Columbia*, *Coccyman's Patent* and *Schenectady*. We had one new circuit in Connecticut, called *Stamford*, which was the first that was ever formed in that state, or in any of the New England States. It was my lot to

go to that circuit alone and to labor by myself. (*) Another preacher was appointed to the circuit with me, but he failed and never came, and I had to labor and suffer alone amongst a strange people.

The following circuits were likewise annexed, of which Mr. Lee has not spoken. I copy them from the minutes of that year, Cherokee, Fells Point, Dover and Duck Creek, Broad River and West New River, which he mentions as being taken in the year before.

The supply of these circuits were as follows.

Cherokee, John Andrew, Philip Matthews.

Broad River, Michael Burdge, William McDowell.

Bush River, William Gasaway.

Little Pee Dee, Thomas Humphries, Lemuel Moore.

Pamlico, James Parks,

Battetourt, Henry Ogburn.

Greensville, James Meacham.

Baltimore Town, John Hagerty.

Fells Point, Thomas Foster.

Milford, Thomas Jackson, William Ratcliffe.

Dover & Duck Creek, } Jacob Brush.

Coeyman's Patent, John Crawford.

Stamford, Jesse Lee, Andrew Van Nostrand.

Schenectady, Lemuel Smith, Cornelius Cook.

Willmington, William Jessup.

Columbia, John Bloodgood, Samuel Wigton.

Burlington, John McClaskey, William Jackson.

We admitted forty-five young preachers on trial this year: we had ninety seven circuits, and added to the society 5911 members; which was a great increase.

As some persons had complained of our receding from a former engagement made by some of our preachers, that "during the life of Mr. Wesley in matters belonging to church government they would obey his commands," and as others had thought that we did not pay as much respect to Mr. Wesley as we ought; the bishops introduced a question in the annual minutes as follows:

(*) Rev Jesse Lee.

Q. Who are the persons that exercise the Episcopal office in the Methodist church in Europe and America?

A. John Wesley, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession.

The next question was asked differently from what it had ever been in any of the former minutes, which stands thus :

Q. Who have been elected by the unanimous suffrages of the general conference, to superintend the Methodist connection in America?

A. Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury.

In the latter part of the minutes for this year, we had the following explanation of a certain rule, about which there had been some uneasiness among some of our local preachers and private members.

“As a very few persons had in some respect, mistaken our meaning, in the 32 section of our form of discipline, on bringing to trial disorderly persons, &c.—we think it necessary to explain it.

“When a member of our society is to be tried for any offence, the officiating minister or preacher is to call together all the members, if the society be small, or a select number if it be large, to take knowledge and give advice, and bear witness to the justice of the whole process ; that improper and private expulsions may be prevented for the future.

We had also this, N. B. “From this time forward no person shall be owned as a member of our church, without six months’ trial.”

This rule continues in force still, and all our members are considered on trial for six months ; during which time, if they wish to leave us, they may do it without any form of trial, and if we are dissatisfied with their conduct, we may cast them off without calling them to trial.

In the course of this year religion was pretty lively and prosperous in our societies, and in some places it was very remarkable. In Baltimore town it exceeded any thing that had ever been known in that place. I will just mention a particular time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. At a quarterly meeting held in Baltimore on the 8 and 9 of August, 1789, and during the following week, the kingdom of satan suffered great loss. The first day of the quarterly meeting was profitable to numbers : many cried and wept bitterly for

mercy, and some souls were born of God. Sunday, the second day, was most awful and glorious. In the lovefeast at eight in the morning, the society enjoyed a little Pentecost, and dwelt as it were in the suburbs of Heaven. The presence of God was awfully felt, while the people one after another feelingly declared *what God had done for their souls*.

As this year was the beginning of Methodism in the New England states, and as the first circuit was now formed, it will be necessary to speak a little of that part of the work.

Jesse Lee began the circuit at Norwalk, in Connecticut, on the 17 of June, 1789, which was the first Methodist sermon that was ever preached in that place. No house could be procured to preach in; every person was afraid to give liberty. He then went into the street and began to sing, and then prayed and preached to a decent congregation. On the 21 of June, he preached for the first time in the city of New Haven, to as many people as could crowd into the Court House.

This new circuit took in Norwalk, Fairfield, Stratford, Milford, New Haven, Derby, Newtown, Reading, Danbury, and Canaan, with several other places within the same bounds. Many people flocked to hear the word, and sometimes they felt it. But men and women were so fond of disputation about peculiar sentiments, that they seldom left the place after preaching, without having some dispute with the preacher.

The first society that was formed in that circuit, was in Stratfield, on the 26 day of September, and there were only three women that joined; and they remained alone for some months before any one else united with them. The next class that was formed, was in Reading, on the 28 day of December. There were only two, one man, and one woman that joined at first. It was some months after, before any person joined with them. At length the society increased, and religion revived. Aaron Sandford, the first man that joined, became a preacher; his brother also, and a lawyer, (Samuel S. Smith,) joined with them and became preachers; and then another of the society began to preach. Though they were few and feeble in the beginning, they at last became a flourishing society, and four preachers were raised up among themselves.

This circuit was first called Stamford, since then it is called Reading.

The first Methodist meeting house that was ever built in New England, was in this circuit, near the upper edge of Stratfield, and is now called *Lee's Chapel*.(*)

On the 27 day of February, 1790, three preachers came to my help from Maryland, namely, Jacob Brush, an *elder*, George Roberts and Daniel Smith, young preachers. They met me at a quarterly meeting at a place called *Dantown*, on the state line between New York and Connecticut. Their presence was reviving to the brethren, and to me in particular. On Sunday, preaching was in a new unfinished dwelling house. In the time of preaching, the Lord visited the people in mercy; and a great cry was raised among them, such as was not common in that part of the world. The people were alarmed; some ran out of the house, others that were above in the loft, ran to the end of the house and jumped out on the ground. In the midst of all the confusion, the Christians were exceedingly happy.

At these conferences in 1789, a plan was laid for the holding a *Council*. The Bishops said, they had made it a matter of prayer, and they believed the present plan was the best they could think of.

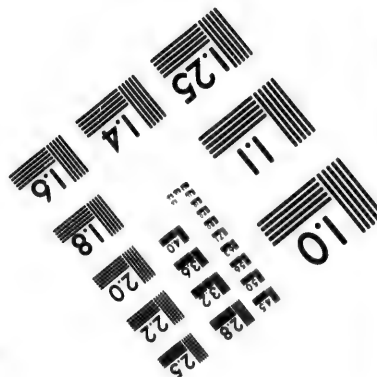
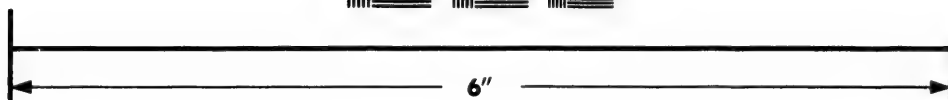
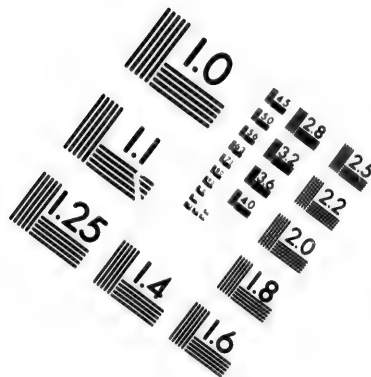
After some opposition had been made to the plan, and there had been some debating about it, a majority of the preachers agreed to the following plan; which was published in the annual minutes.

Q. Whereas the holding of general conferences on this extensive Continent would be attended with a variety of difficulties, and many inconveniencies to the work of God; and whereas we judge it expedient that a council should be formed of chosen men out of the several districts as representatives of the whole connection, to meet at stated times; in what manner is this council to be formed, what shall be its powers, and what further regulations shall be made concerning it?"

A. 1. "Our bishops and presiding elders shall be the members of this council; provided, that the members who form the council be never fewer than nine. And if any unavoidable circumstance prevent the attendance of a presiding elder at the council, he shall have autho-

(*) In honor of the Rev. Jesse Lee.





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city to send another elder out of his own district to represent him; but the elder so sent by the absenting presiding elder, shall have no seat in the council without the approbation of the bishop or bishops, and presiding elders present. And if, after the above mentioned provisions are complied with, any unavoidable circumstance, or any contingencies reduce the number to less than nine, the bishop shall immediately summon such elders as do not preside, to complete the number.

2. "These shall have authority to mature every thing they shall judge expedient. 1. To preserve the general union: 2. To render and preserve the external form of worship similar in all our societies through the continent: 3. To preserve the essentials of the Methodist doctrines and discipline pure and uncorrupted: 4. To correct all abuses and disorders: And lastly, they are authorized to mature every thing they may see necessary for the good of the church, and for the promoting and improving our colleges and plan of education.

3. "Provided nevertheless, that nothing shall be received as the resolution of the Council, unless it be assented to unanimously by the council; and nothing so assented to by the Council, shall be binding in any district, till it has been agreed upon by a majority of the Conference which is held for that district.

4. "The bishops shall have authority to summon the council to meet at such times and places as they shall judge expedient.

5. "The first Council shall be held at *Cokesbury*, on the first day of next December."

This plan for having a council was entirely new, and exceedingly dangerous. A majority of the preachers voted in favor of it, but they were soon sensible that the plan would not answer the purpose for which it was intended. The Council was to be composed of the bishops, and the presiding elders: the presiding elders were appointed, changed, and put out of office by the bishop, and just when he pleased; of course, the whole of the Council were to consist of the Bishops, and a few other men of their own choice or appointing.

We have sufficient reason to believe that the establishment of the Council was very injurious to the Methodist connection. The plan produced such difficulties in the minds of the preachers and the people,

and brought on such opposition, that it was hard to reconcile them one to another. Nothing would or could give satisfaction to the preachers but the calling together all the travelling preachers in a general conference; to which after some time the bishop consented.

In 1790 we had fourteen conferences, at the following times and places:

The forty-first conference was held in Charleston, on the 15 of February.

The forty-second in Georgia, on the 3 of March.

The forty-third in Kentucky, on the 26 of April.

The forty-fourth at Holstein, on the 17 of May.

The forty-fifth in North Carolina, on the 24 of May.

The forty-sixth at Lane's Chapel, on the 14 of June.

The forty-seventh at Union Town, on the 29 of July.

The forty-eighth at Leesburg, on the 26 of August.

The forty-ninth at Baltimore, on the 6 of September.

The fiftieth at Cokesbury, on the 11 of September.

The fifty-first at Duck Creek, on the 16 of September.

The fifty-second in Philadelphia, on the 22 of September.

The fifty-third in Burlington, on the 28 of September.

The fifty-fourth in New-York, on the 4 of October.

At these Conferences the following circuits and stations were added which were also thus supplied:

Catawba, Jonathan Jackson.

Savannah, John Crawford, Philip Matthews.

Savannah Town, Hope Hull.

Limestone, Samuel Tucker, Joseph Lillard.

Lexington, Henry Birchett, David Haggard.

Russel, Daniel Lockett, John Pace.

Green, John M'Gee, John West.

Lincoln, Daniel Asbury, Jesse Richardson.

Contentney, John Baldwin.

Surry, J. Robinson, W. Spencer, B. Wilson.

Kanawha, Jacob Lurton, Thomas Boyd,

Stafford, Thornton Fleming, James Fleming.

South-River, Samuel Green, Geo. Browning.

Bath, Robt. Green, Thomas Bell.

Randolph, Anthony Banning.

Litchfield, Samuel Wighton, Henry Christie.

Fairfield, John Bloodgood.

New-Haven, John Lee.

Hartford, Nathaniel B. Mills.

Boston, Jesse Lee, Daniel Smith.

We admitted on trial this year sixty-eight young preachers, and added to the society 14356 members. There were more added to the society this year, than ever had been before in the course of one year.

And with all, we had 116 circuits on the minutes.

The form of the minutes was now altered, and the first question was, "*Who are admitted on trial?*" This mode of beginning the minutes has ever since been persued. The second question is, "*Who remain on trial?*" and thus proceed up in gradation to the Bishops. Formerly, the first question was, "*Who are the bishops?*" and then proceed downwards to the lowest order.

Religion prospered this year in an uncommon manner. The great increase of members, however, was partly owing to the difference in the time of taking the account of them. Last year it was closed in May. This year in October, which extends the time to one year and five months. Had the numbers been taken in May, as they were the last year, the increase would not have been so large. But there was a most blessed work of God in different parts of the country. In New England we met with great encouragement, and some souls were savingly brought to the knowledge of the truth. On the 19 of May we joined the first class in Stratford, composed of a few loving persons, who were much despised in town on the account of their religion, and their attachment to the Methodists.

In March, New Haven circuit was formed, which extended along the post road from Milford to Hartford. The first sermon preached by the Methodists in the city of Hartford, was on the 9 of December, 1789, and on the 8 of November, this year, a class was formed in that city; but after a while some of the members moved away, and all the others were scattered.

About the beginning of this spring, *Litchfield* circuit was formed,

which took in the north-west part of Connecticut State. And in the latter part of the spring we formed *Hartford* circuit, which took in both sides of Connecticut river. The first time the Methodists preached in the neighboring towns in that circuit, were as follows: On the 2 day of April, 1790, in Tolland; the 3 day in East Windsor; on the 7 day in Windsor; on the 9 in Suffield; on the 11 in Granby; on the 22 in Enfield; on the 29 in Wintonbury; and on the 3 of May in Wilbraham, in Massachusetts. The first sermon preached by the Methodists in the city of Middletown, was on the 7 day of December, 1789.

I have given this account (*) of the time when the Methodists first began to preach in certain towns, that the people in those parts may know when they were first visited by us. No doubt it will be satisfactory to many, even of the rising generation.

I was appointed this year to the town of Boston, in order if possible to establish the Methodist doctrine and discipline, and to raise up a people for the Lord. I took my station on the 14 day of November. In the course of the preceding summer, Mr. F. Garrettson had visited that town, and preached. I made them a visit in July.— On one occasion I went out on the common, and standing on a table, began to sing, with only a few persons present. But having prayed, and begun to preach, the number increased, so that there were two or three thousand attentive hearers. The number was still greatly increased, the next Sabbath day, at the same place, at six o'clock in the afternoon.

This may be considered the beginning of Methodism in Boston, and in all those parts of the country. Methodist preaching was a strange thing in that part of the world. On the 12 day of July, the first Methodist sermon was preached in Salem; on the 15, in Newburyport; on the 16 in Danvers; on the 17 in Marblehead; on the 20 in Charlestown; and on the 14 of December in Lynn. In Boston it was hard to procure a place to preach in, and the word took but little hold on the minds of the hearers; but as soon as we began to preach in Lynn, the word had a powerful effect on the hearers, who flocked to hear by hundreds. It soon appeared that Lynn was the place that

(*) These accounts are extracted from a history written by Rev. Jesse Lee.

should be attended to, in preference to any other. On the 20 of February, 1791, the first class was formed in Lynn, consisting of eight persons, and that day week, twenty-one persons more joined with the former number, and some of them were truly engaged with the Lord, and much devoted to his service; and others were sincere seekers of salvation.

There were abundance of people in that town who were fond of hearing the Methodists, and wished to attend their meetings constantly; and on the 9 day of May, upwards of seventy men who paid tax came together, and took certificates, showing that they attended public worship with the Methodists, and paid to the support of their minister. This was done to keep them as far as possible from being compelled by law to pay to the support of their settled congregational ministers, whom they did not like.

The Society in Lynn then determined on building a Methodist meeting-house; which they began accordingly, on the 14 of June, raised on the 21, and dedicated on the 26, 1791. This was the first regular permanent society that was formed in the state of Massachusetts; and the first meeting-house that was ever built for the Methodists in the state. From that time religion continued to prosper in Lynn for many months without any declension.

In the course of 1791, there was a considerable awakening among the people in different places not far from Lynn. The Methodists preached the first time in Manchester on the 11 day of January, and on the 12 in Beverly, and in Cape Ann, or Gloucester, on the 15 of February; in Weston on the 9 day of September; in Natick on the 10; and in Medham on the 13 of the same month. Before that time they had never had a Methodist preacher among them.

We preached a long time in Boston, before we formed a Society, but on the 13 day of July, 1892, we joined a few in society, and after a short time they began to increase in numbers. We met with uncommon difficulties here, from the beginning, for the want of a convenient house to preach in. We began in private houses, and could seldom keep possession of them long. At last we obtained liberty to hold meetings in a school-house; but that too was soon denied us.— We then rented a chamber in the north end of the town, where we

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continued to meet a considerable time regularly. The Socceity then undertook to get them a meeting house, but being poor, and but few in number, they could do but little. We begged money for them in Baltimore, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and in Delaware state, in Philadelphia, and in New York, and by these exertions we were able to proceed, and began the building. On the 28 of August, 1795, the *Corner Stone* was laid of the first Methodist meeting house in Boston, which was fixed at the north-end and was built of wood 46 feet by 36, with galleries in front and on both sides of the house.

In 1791 we had thirteen conferences.

This year there was an addition of seventeen circuits and stations, which were supplied as follows.

Kingston, Francis Parker.

Union, Benjamin Tarrant.

Franklin, Henry Merri, Benjamin Blanton.

Mattamusket, Daniel Shines.

Alexandria, Ezekiel Cooper.

Severn, John Hill, John Chalmers.

Queen Anns, George Moore, James Thomas.

Saratoga, David Kendall.

Otsego, Philip Wager, Jonathan Newman.

Middlefields, John Allen, George Roberts.

Stockbridge, Robert Green.

Kingston, William Losee.

Liverpool, Thomas Whitehead.

Newport, John Cooper.

St. Johns, John Ragan.

Salt River, Wilson Lee, Joseph Lillard.

West Indies, Samuel Rudder, Nathaniel Pinkard.

We admitted upwards of fifty young preachers on trial, and had an addition to the society of 6257 members; we also had one hundred and twenty-nine circuits.

We had a pleasing revival of religion in many places during this year; and a door was opened for the spreading of Methodism in the New England states; where many people were inviting us, and sending for us to come and preach among them. Some of them also cast

in their lots with us, and joined our society. Notwithstanding there was great opposition to the Methodists in that part of the world, they continued to increase, and were more respected than they had formerly been.

The people had always been used to hear too sermons preached every Sabbath day, so that it was hard for them to be reconciled to our preaching in some places only on a week day. The common cry was, "If you would take a parish and settle among us, we should be glad to have you, and we would then hear you, and pay you well." However, we formed societies in several places, and they increased and prospered, and souls were converted to God.

In 1792, we had eighteen conferences, according to the account published in the annual minutes. But the line of the conferences was now changed, and they were began in *Virginia*, and went forward to the south, and then turned and ended in the north. The two first conferences were held in the latter part of the preceeding year: of course some things which were transacted at the conferences held in December last, will be considered as done this year; because they are published in the minutes of the present year.

At these conferences we took in seventeen new circuits, which are as follows:

Pomonkey, James Meacham.

Scoperlong, John Ahair.

Trent, Samuel Cowles, Peter Gautier.

Goshen, Rufus Wiley, William Ormond.

Highco, Daniel Dean.

Oconee, John Clark, James Holly.

Elbert, John Halliday.

Cowpasture, John Lindsey.

Middletown, R. Swain, A. Hunt.

Wyoming, William Heardslly.

Tioga, John Hill.

Staten Island, Thomas Ware.

Croton, Peter Moriarty.

Cataraqui, Darius Dunham.

Oswegotchie, William Losee.

Needham, John Allen.

Providence, Lemuel Smith.

We admitted on trial upwards of fifty young preachers, and added to the society 2314 members.

At this time, 1792, we had one hundred members in society, in the States of Connecticut and Massachusetts; the only states in New England where we had any societies formed. But we now for the first time formed a circuit in the state of Rhode Island.

On the first day of November, 1792, the first regular general conference began in Baltimore.

At that general conference we revised the form of discipline, and made several alterations. The proceedings of that conference were not published in separate minutes, but the alterations were entered at their proper places, and published in the next edition of the form of discipline, which was the eighth edition.

Notwithstanding we had some debates, and some distressing hours during that conference; and withal, some of our preachers were so offended as to leave the conference before the business was half finished; (*) yet it was a comfortable time to most of us, and we were highly favored of the Lord with his presence and love in the last of our sitting. Our hearts were closely united together, and we parted in great union, love and fellowship.

The proceedings of this general conference gave great satisfaction to our preachers and people; and the divisive spirit which had been prevailing in different parts of our connection, was considerably checked. And nothing that was done gave more satisfaction, than the plan that was laid for having another general conference at the expiration of four years from that time; to which, all the preachers in full connection, were at liberty to come.

In 1793, we had nineteen conferences; four of which were held in the latter part of the preceding year, after the close of the general conference.

(*) J. O'Kelly and others.

According to the minutes of this year, seventeen more circuits were added to the list. They were supplied as follows.

Greenwick, D. Kendall, E. Mudge.

Edenton, Archer Davis.

Petersburgh, John Lindsey.

Swanino, Samuel Edney.

Haw River, David Richardson.

Hinkstone, Richard Bird.

Warren, Philip Wager.

Province of Maine, Jesse Lee.

New London, G. Roberts, R. Swain, F. Aldridge.

Tolland, Joseph Lovell.

Granville. Hez. C. Wooster, Jason Perkins.

Pittsfield, James Covell, Zadock Priest.

Herkimer, Jonathan Newman, D. Bartnic.

Freehold, James Wilson, John Fountain.

Prince George's, Andrew Nichols.

Tioga, James Thomas.

Seneca Lake, James Smith.

Four preachers were entered, withdrawn from our connection ; two of them, James O'Kelly, and Rice Haggard, continued to travel and preach through the country where they pleased, and they spared no pains in trying to draw off disciples after them. The other two, John Robinson, and John Allen, settled themselves. Mr. Allen went into the practice of physic, and soon gave up preaching. He has been living since that time in the district of Maine.

There was a good revival of religion this year, in many of the circuits, and the way was open for us to extend our borders in various directions ; but we had a great declension in many of the old circuits. When the numbers in society were taken, we found that we had gained fewer than we had for several years before.

New London circuit in Connecticut was formed in the beginning of this year, and the preachers continued to travel in it from that time until the conference ; at which time it was taken on the minutes. It then had fifty members. There had been preaching by the Methodists in most of the places that were now taken into this circuit, some

more circuits were

time before the circuit was formed. The first sermon preached by the Methodists in the city of New London, was on the 2 day of September, 1789, which was upwards of three years before the circuit was formed. The first Methodist sermon that was preached in Windham, was on the 24 of June, and the first in the city of Norwich on the 25 of June, 1790

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It was upwards of five years from the time of the society's being formed in New London, until they built a meeting house to assemble in. Their meeting house was raised on the 20 day of July, 1798, and the dedication sermon was preached in it two days after the frame was raised, i. e. on Sunday the 22 of July, in the afternoon.

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Warren circuit in Rhode Island, took in Bristol, Newport, Providence, Cranston, and several places in Massachusetts. It will no doubt be satisfactory to many of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, to know the time when the Methodists first came to that State. The first Methodist sermon was preached in Charlestown, Rhode Island, on the 3 day of September, 1789. The first in Newport was on the 30 of June, 1790. The first in Bristol was on the 2 of July: and the first in Providence was on the 4 of July, 1790. The first Methodist sermon preached in Cranston, was on the 11 day of November, 1791.

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The first meeting house that was built for the Methodists in the State of Rhode Island, was that in Warren, which was dedicated, or first preached in, on the 24 day of Sept. 1794.

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When we went to Province Town to preach, we were gladly received by those who had lately embraced religion; and a great many of the other people attended our ministry, and were highly gratified with our manner of preaching. In a short time we formed a society; and from that time the work began to increase much more than it had done before, and several souls were converted to God. This society was formed in the beginning of the summer 1795. After the society began to increase considerably, the brethren concluded to build themselves a meeting house. The plan, was laid, and the timber procured at a distance, and brought to town by water, and then hauled together in order to begin to frame the house. By this time persecution began to spread through the town, and many things were said against

the building. And on the 25 of August, 1795, in the night time the mob collected privately, and took the greater part of the timber, and carrying it over a large hill into a bottom, they cut it to pieces and built a large pen of it. Then getting a sailor's old hat, coat, and trowsers, and stuffing them so as to make them resemble a man, they fastened the image on the top of the pen, and tarred and feathered it.

This conduct was the most violent opposition that we had met with in that part of New England. But the brethren were not discouraged by this opposition. They laid their plan and procured more timber, and built themselves a comfortable meeting house in the latter part of that same year ; and it was ready for use by the next January.

In 1794 we had fourteen conferences, three of which were held in the latter part of the preceding year.

There was according to the minutes of this year an addition of nine circuits, which are as follows with their respective preachers :

Federal, Richard Parrott, John Doborough.

Leesburg, Thomas Anderson.

Pendleton, Richard Furgerson.

Carlisle, Wm. M'Dowel, Wm. Talbot.

Black Swamp, Johothan Jackson.

New Hampshire, John Hill.

Marble-Head, John Hill, J. Rexford.

Readfield, Philip Wager.

Vermont, Joshua Hall.

We admitted on trial forty young preachers. But we lost in the number of our members 2135. This was the first time that our number had decreased for fourteen years.

The first meeting house which was built in the Province of Maine for the Methodists, was that in Readfield, which was begun in the fall of the year 1794, and was nearly covered in by the first of December. The second was that in Monmouth, which was begun in 1795.

The first time that we ever administered the Lord's Supper in that part of the country, was in Readfield, on the 14 day of December 1794. The second time was in Monmouth, on the 25 day of the same month, which was on Christmas day.

The meeting house in Readfield was dedicated on the 21 day

June, 1795. But the meeting house in Monmouth was not dedicated until the last day of May, 1796.

The first quarterly meeting that was ever held in the Province of Maine, was in Monmouth, which began on the 23 day of June, 1795.

The first conference that was ever held in the Province of Maine, was in Readfield, which began on the 29 day of August, 1798.— We had ten travelling preachers at it, and about 200 communicants. It was not five years from the time the people there, first heard a Methodist; yet after they began to unite with us, they flourished and increased so fast, that now we could collect at one meeting about 200 members of our society. When we made a return of the number in society in 1795, which was about eight months from the time we joined the first members together, we had 268 in the society.

We will now take a view of Methodism in New Hampshire state; which was the last state in the union, where we formed societies.— The first circuit was called Chesterfield, which lay in the south-west corner of the state, near to Connecticut river, which divides New-Hampshire from Vermont. The first society formed in the state was in Chesterfield, some time in the latter part of the year 1795. At which time, there were but a few that felt freedom to unite with us; yet after some time a few more cast in their lots; and other societies were soon formed in other places. The circuit was not entered on the annual minutes until the year 1796.

Some time after this there was a circuit formed higher up the state called Landaff; and in that place religion prospered very much, and many souls were soon brought into the liberty of God's children; and the work of the Lord spread greatly among the people.

The first circuit that we formed in the State of Vermont, was called Vershire. This circuit was taken on the minutes in 1796. We had been preaching in that town, and in many of the neighboring towns some time before that, but had no societies formed. We had some societies in the state which belonged to circuits in other states. But Vershire was the first circuit that was formed within the state; and it reached from the towns near Connecticut river to Montpelier, to the north of Onion river, which runs into Lake Champlain. Many of the places where we preached in that circuit, were quite new settlements:

the houses were very small, and but scattering through the country.— The preachers had to encounter many difficulties, and to endure many hardships. But one thing which made up for all the difficulties was this, the people were fond of attending meeting by day or night, and were very kind to the preachers. And the best of all was, sinners were soon awakened, and in a little time some of them became the happy subjects of the favor of God, and were zealously engaged in trying to help forward the work of the Lord as far as they could.— Since then we have prospered considerably in this new part of the country.

I have given a brief account in the preceding pages of this chapter, of the beginning and spread of Methodism in the Province of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont states; but it is only a sketch. To give a full account of all the revivals of religion, of all the societies that were formed, of all the young preachers that were raised up, and of all the oppositions and persecutions we met with, would fill a volume. This being intended for a short history, I have given the reader an account of the most material things that took place in the beginning. But no one can form a proper idea of what the Lord has done in those parts, except they have been eye and ear witnesses of it.— One thing is evident, and cannot be denied, that hundreds of people who were formerly notoriously wicked, are now civil, sober, and religious. I have thought proper for the satisfaction of the people who live in that country, to mention the time when we first preached in particular towns, and when we first formed societies.

1795.—This year there were only seven Conferences. There were 45 preachers received on trial, and three circuits taken in which with their preachers are the following :

Union-School, John H. Reynolds.

Union, John Clark, Samuel Risher.

Niagara, Darius Dunham.

We took in 45 young preachers upon trial, which was very encouraging to us. In the latter part of this year, 1795, we formed the first society in New Hampshire state, and then for the first time, although we had labored about 26 years—we could say that we had societies in all the United States.

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In 1796, we had eight conferences; seven annual conferences, and a general conference. Two of these conferences were held in the close of the preceding year.

This year we admitted on trial upwards of thirty young preachers; and lost out of the travelling connection forty; twenty-eight of them located; nine died; two withdrew, and one was expelled.

This year we took an account of the number of the members in our society in each state separately, which was as follows:

Members.		Members.	
Province of Maine,	357	Massachusetts,	824
New Hampshire,	68	Rhode Island,	220
Connecticut,	1050	North Carolina,	8713
New York,	4044	South Carolina,	3659
New Jersey,	2351	Georgia,	1174
Pennsylvania,	3011	Tennessee,	546
Delaware,	2228	Kentucky,	1750
Maryland,	12416	Upper Canada,	474
Virginia,	13779		
		In all,	56,664

Our general conference was held this year in Baltimore, which began on the 26 of October, 1796, at which we had 120 travelling preachers who were members of that conference. After we had finished the business of the conference, we had the minutes published before the preachers left town, that they might take them to their several circuits.

There were several alterations made at that time, in our form of discipline, and several new regulations were formed.

It was agreed that the annual conferences which had been called district conferences, should in future be called yearly conferences; and our whole connection was divided into six yearly conferences.

The first, was called the New England conference.

The second, the Philadelphia conference.

The third, the Baltimore conference.

The fourth, the Virginia conference.

The fifth, the South Carolina conference.

The sixth, the Western conference ; and the bounds of each conference were fixed : but the bishop was allowed, if he saw proper, to have another conference in the province of Maine. Before this regulation was established, the bishop had the power of appointing the number of conferences at his own discretion.

At that time it was thought proper to have another bishop elected and ordained, and the conference voted that it should be done during the sitting of that conference. After the vote was taken, a difficulty arose about the manner of choosing, or electing a man to be ordained a bishop ; and before the point was settled, Dr. Coke begged that the business might be laid over until the afternoon, which was done.—When we met in the afternoon the Dr. offered himself to us, if we saw cause to take him ; and promised to serve us in the best manner he could, and to be entirely at the disposal of his American brethren, and to live or die among them. The conference at length agreed to the Doctor's proposal, and concluded that if the Doctor tarried with us, we could do with two bishops, without ordaining a third, and the former vote for choosing another bishop was dropped.—The Doctor then gave us the following instrument of writing :

"I offer myself to my American brethren, entirely to their service, all I am and have, with my talents and labors in every respect ; without any mental reservation whatsoever, to labor among them, and to assist bishop Ashbury ; not to station the preachers at any time when he is present ; but to exercise all the episcopal duties, when I hold a conference in his absence, and by his consent, and to visit the West Indies and France, when there is an opening, and I can be spared."

THOMAS COKE.

Conference Room, Baltimore, Oct. 27, 1796.

On Sunday the fourth day of December, while the congregation was assembled in the afternoon for divine service, in our church in Light street, in the city of Baltimore, and the preacher was preaching to them, there was a cry of fire heard from without, which had broke out near the church ; the flames soon spread to the church, and in a very short time the House of God was burnt down ; and the Preacher's house, that stood near it, was much damaged. The Academy, or School-Room was also laid in ashes. This destruction of property by

fire, was just twelve months to a day from the time that Cokesbury College was burned.

The following circuits were annexed this year and supplied thus :

Frankford, Chas. Ledbetter, D. W. Hollum.

Logan, Aquila Sugg.

Chesterfield, Philip Wager.

Penobscot, Elias Hull.

Portland, Jesse Stoneman.

Province Town, Robert Yallely.

Kenebeck, Aaron Humphrey.

Vershire, Nicholas Snethen.

Pomphret, Joel Ketchum, Daniel Brumby.

Strasburg, Ephraim Chambers, James Stokes.

Old Town, Henry Willis.

This year Nova Scotia is not in the minutes.

In 1797 we had seven conferences: There were but six appointed on the annual minutes, but it was thought best to take in the conference in Virginia, which was held in 1796, and that also which was held in this year, which would make seven in all, and by that means the conferences would be changed about, so as to begin them in future in the south, and finish them in the north. By the regulations made at the late General conference, we could not have more than seven conferences in one year, unless there were new circuits enough formed to compose a conference.

We had for three years together been declining in numbers; but this year we began again to increase, and we had an addition of 1999 members.

The circuits that were added this year and their supply of preachers were as follows :

Martha's Vinyard, Joshua Hall.

Pleasant-River, Enoch Mudge.

1798.—This year we had seven conferences. As the plan had been laid in the preceding year, we now began the conferences in the South that we might attend those that were appointed in the large towns in the Spring, before the sickly season came on.

We added to the society this year 1506 members and took in five

new circuits, to which were appointed the following preachers respectively, viz:

Salt River and Shelby, John Page.

Shenango, J. Newman.

Vergennes, Joseph Mitchel, Abner Wood.

Sandwich, Epaphras Kibby.

Exeter, John Nichols.

In 1799 we had only six conferences, and they were begun in the south.

At these conferences we took in about forty young preachers upon trial.

Our borders were greatly enlarged this year, and the way was opening for us to spread farther, and to send forth more laborers into the vineyard of the Lord. We had an addition to the society this year of 1182 members. Great peace and harmony prevailed throughout our connection, both among preachers and people, and the prospect of a great revival of religion was more pleasing than it had been at any one time for some years; and in some places there was a good stir of religion, and many souls were brought into the liberty of the children of God.

Eleven new circuits were added to the list—they were supplied as follows:

Little Kanawha, Robt. Stanly.

St. Mary's, Geo. Clark.

Greenfield, Edmund Wayman, James Quinn.

Mohawk, Jonathan Newman.

Cayuga & Orneida, Ephraim Chambers, B. Willey.

Essex, Lorenzo Dow.

Whittingham, Petter Vannest.

Plattsburgh, Alex. McCaine.

Merrimack, Ralph Williston.

Nantucket, Jas. Snelling.

Miami, Henry Smith.

This year Ezekiel Cooper was regularly appointed by the Bishop and the Philadelphia conference, to superintend the book concern, as editor and general book-steward, in the room of John Dickins deceased.

In 1800, we had eight conferences; one of them however, was a general conference.

We admitted upwards of forty young preachers on trial this year, which was a great help to us.

We added to the society 3543 members, which was very encouraging to those who labored and travelled night and day for the salvation of precious souls.

The following circuits were likewise formed and supplied with preachers, viz:

Natches, Tobias Gibson.

Orangeburgh, Lewis Myers.

Muskingum & Hockhocking, J. Stoneham.

Sciota, Henry Smith.

Brooking, David Buck.

Wethersfield, John Nichols.

Landaff, E. R. Sabin.

Grand River, (U. C.) Daniel Pickett.

Rhode Island, Joshua Hall.

Hawke, R. Williston.

Norridgewock, Daniel Webb.

This year we had 156 travelling elders, and their names were printed in the annual minutes in regular rotation: the oldest travelling preacher was set down first, and the next oldest, as they were found on the minutes, was set down next, and so on, till the youngest elder was set down last. But those who had been part of their time located, were all entered at the bottom of the list, with this † mark to each name, that they may be known from the rest of the elders.

There was an alteration made in the sixth question and answer, in the annual minutes this year, and it was printed thus:

Q. 6. "Who are the Bishops?"

A. "Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury, Richard Whatcoat."

This year we held our third regular general conference, which began in Baltimore on the sixth day of May, and continued until the twentieth. We had 119 preachers present who were regular members of that conference.

Some time previous to the meeting of the preachers in that confer-

ence, Mr. Asbury had said that when they met he would resign his office as superintendent of the Methodist connection, and would take his seat in the conference on a level with the elders. He wrote to several of the preachers in different parts of the connection, and informed them of his intention; and engaged other preachers to write to their brethren in the ministry, and to inform them of his intention to resign. Withal, he wrote his resignation with an intention to deliver it into the conference as soon as they met, and to have it read in their first meeting. He said, he was weak and feeble both in body and mind, that he was not able to go through the fatigues of his office.

When the conference met and proceeded to business, they first took up Mr. Asbury's case thus, *Q.* "Whereas Mr. Asbury has signified his intention of resigning his official station in our church, on account of his weakness of body, what is the sense of the conference on this occasion?"

A. 1. "The general conference consider themselves under many and great obligations to Mr. Asbury for the many and great services which he has rendered to this connection.

2. "This conference do earnestly entreat Mr. Asbury for a continuation of his services as one of the general superintendents, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as far as his strength will permit."

Mr. Asbury told the conference, that he was still feeble both in body and mind, but was much better than he had been for some time before; and notwithstanding he had been inclined to resign his office, he now felt willing to do any thing he could to serve the connection, and that the conference might require of him.

Dr. Coke then obtained liberty to return to Europe again upon the condition that he should return to America, as soon as his business would allow; or, at farthest, by the next general conference.

We then had the following questions and answers:—

Q. "Whereas it appears, that Mr Asbury's weakness of body will not admit of his travelling as extensively through the United States as the situation of the connection requires, what further help will this conference afford him?"

A. "Another bishop shall be elected and consecrated.

Q. "In what manner shall the votes for the election of a bishop be taken.

A. "By ballot."

There was then a lengthy debate respecting the powers the new bishop should possess. Some were of the opinion that he ought to act under the direction of the old bishop, and be governed by him; but it was finally determined that they should be on an equal footing, and be joint superintendents.

The conference then proceeded to vote for a bishop: On the first balloting, no one had a majority. They balloted a second time, and the tellers reported that there was a tie between Richard Whatcoat and Jesse Lee. They proceeded to a third ballot, when Richard Whatcoat was declared to be duly elected by a majority of four votes.

On the 18 of May, 1800, Richard Whatcoat was ordained a bishop, by the laying on of hands, by Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and some of the Elders.

It was now determined that there should be seven annual conferences, and that of New England should be divided. That one should be called the *New England Conference*, and the other the *New York Conference*: and the bounds for each were fixed. It was then said, "Let each annual conference pay its proportionable part towards the allowances of the bishops." This was the first time that a regular tax was laid for the support of the bishops; formerly the bishop received the greater part of his support from private friends; and the deficiency was generally made up by particular societies.

We also formed a new rule respecting the next general conference, which was the words following: "No preacher shall have a right to be a member in the next general conference, unless he is in full connection, and has been a travelling preacher four years." Previous to this time all our preachers who had been admitted into full connection, were entitled to a seat in the general conference, although they might have travelled only two years.

We appointed the next general conference to be in the city of Baltimore, on the sixth day of May, 1804.

While the general conference was sitting in Baltimore, the preachers were very useful in the beginning of a glorious revival of religion

in that place. And at the close the preachers parted in great peace and love, and set out for their stations in different parts of the United States.

About the same time there was a most remarkable revival of religion in the western country, both in Tennessee and Kentucky states, such a work as had never been seen in that part of the world, since the first settling of the country.

I suppose the Methodist connection hardly ever knew such a time of a general revival of religion through the whole of their circuits, as they had about the latter part of the year 1800.

1801.—We had seven conferences, and received on trial 50 preachers.

The circuits added this year with their respective preachers, are the following:

Erie, James Quinn.

Ottawa, (U. C.) John Robinson, Caleb Morris.

Fletcher, James Coleman, Laban Clark.

Barnerd, Joseph Crawford.

During this year 1801, the work of God spread and revived greatly in most parts of our connection; but our societies increased more in Maryland and Delaware, than in any of the other states. However, the work was pretty general; and by letters written from different parts of the United States, we were assured the work continued to prosper throughout the year.

In the year 1786, the Methodist travelling connection, extended their aid to their societies in Kentucky: and sent out two preachers, both of whom deserted them in Mr. James O'Kelly's schism; which took place shortly after, and took off from the connection a few others, they both however went to nothing: one died long since, the other still lives a poor backslider! These preachers' places were soon supplied by others whose names will be long gratefully remembered. The numbers of preachers increased from time to time; and from this small unpropitious beginning, have grown, first, 'Western conference' since erected into "the Ohio" "the Tennessee," "the Mississippi" "and the Mississippi," Conferences. These now embrace, exclusively of travelling preachers 69,859 members.

For nearly twenty years, from the first commencement of the settlement of the country, there does not appear to have been any considerable movement as it respects general reformation in any of the churches. About the commencement of the present century, a general revival amongst the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists took place. With the Baptists, as a church, the revival appeared to be confined pretty much to their own people, and in particular congregations. With the exception of one or two congregations, perhaps more, they were of the old order of *regular Calvinistic Baptists*. As such they did not continue long embodied; but split into various divisions, and sub-divisions. The cause of all these divisions may be very easily traced to their source. The revival amongst the Presbyterians and Methodists, commenced in the year 1799, and in 1800, in the lower part of Kentucky, under two preachers, brothers, one of each denomination, who held their meetings together in Logan and Christian Counties, on the waters of Gasper river, and perhaps other places.— Having thus united in the work, they found themselves straitened in their houses, on account of the increase of their congregations. In the summer they took to the woods. The people in order to accommodate themselves, carried provision for their families and beasts, in their wagons; erected tents, and continued some days in the exercises of singing, prayer and preaching! Thus commenced what has since received the appellation of “Camp Meetings;” a revival of the Feasts of Tabernacles.” It is one among the great means of grace with which the modern Christian Church is blessed: It is every way calculated to spread the blessed word, and no marvel that the devil should make such sore thrusts at the institution on the commencement, that his weapons hitherto turned against them, have failed. These meetings are a peculiar blessing to the people situated as those in the West are: at them the minds of the people for days are taken off their various temporal concerns, and their hearts become the temples of the great God! It was not for these favored people in the remote part of the state to have their banquet altogether alone. The work continued to revive and spread, and the novelty of the meetings excited the curiosity of thousands.

The Rev. William M’Kendree, (now Bishop) Presiding Elder of

the district, was in the lower part of the state about the commencement of the revival, and became much engaged in it. In the latter part of 1800, or early in 1801, (if my recollection serves me) he came up to the centre of the settlements of the state; and in many places was the first to bear the tidings of these singular meetings, which had so recently commenced, and had so greatly attracted the attention of multitudes. I shall never forget the looks of the people, who had assembled in a congregation composed mostly of Methodists and Presbyterians, and their adherents, when the old gentleman, after the conclusion of a very pathetic sermon, having been much animated in the work, gave an interesting statement of the progress of it from what he had seen, and of the meetings before described. Whilst he spoke the very sensation of his soul glowed in his countenance. His description of them was such as would be vain for me to attempt. He described them in their native simplicity: He told of the happy conversion of hundreds; how the people continued their exercises of singing, praying, and preaching on the ground, surrounded by wigwags and tents, for days and nights together. That many were so affected that they fell to the ground like men slain in battle. The piercing cries of the penitents, and rapture of the healed, appeared to be brought to our view; and what was equally encouraging to the faithful, that the work instead of declining, was progressing to the interior. After this description given by him, it was unnecessary to exhort the faithful to look for the like among themselves. Their hearts had already begun to beat in unison with his; whilst sinners were generally melted into tears. As for my own feelings, though a stranger to religion at that time, they will never be forgotten. I felt, and I wept!

These meetings began, as the season permitted, to make their gradual approach towards the centre of the state. It was truly wonderful to see what an effect their approach made upon the minds of the people. Here in the wilderness were thousands and tens of thousands, of almost every nation: Here were thousands hungry for the bread of life! and thousands thirsting for the waters of salvation! A general move was visible in the congregations, previously to the arrival of these meetings. The devout Christians appeared to be filled with hope. Their hearts were greatly enlarged to prey for the pro-

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 sations: backsliders became terrified: the wicked in general were ei-
 ther greatly alarmed, or struck with solemn awe, whilst curiosity
 was general, and raised to the highest degree to see into these strange
 things. Indeed, such was the commotion, that every circle of the
 community appeared to have their whole attention arrested. Many
 were the conjectures respecting these meetings.

Things, however, did not continue long to keep the attention of
 the people in suspense. The camp-meetings began to approach near-
 er and nearer to the centre; when one meeting after another was
 soon appointed in succession, and the number that attended them is
 almost incredible to tell. When collected on the ground, and whilst
 the meetings continued, such crowds would be passing and repassing,
 that the roads, paths and woods appeared to be literally strewed with
 people! Whole settlements and neighborhoods would appear to be
 vacated, and such was the draught from them, that it was only here
 and there that a solitary house would contain an aged house-keeper;
 young and old very generally pressing through every difficulty to see
 the Camp-Meeting! The Presbyterians and Methodists now united
 in them; hence it was, that they took the name of **GENERAL CAMP-
 MEETINGS**. On the 30 January, 1801, one writes, giving an ac-
 count of the work as it first appeared: "The work is still increas-
 ing in Cumberland. It has overspread the whole country. It is in
 Nashville, Barren, Muddy, Gasper, Red Banks, Knoxville, &c.
 J. M. C. has been there two months; he says it exceeds any thing
 he ever saw or heard of. Children and all seem to be engaged; but
 children are the most active in the work. When they speak, it ap-
 pears that the Lord sends his spirit to accompany it with power to the
 hearts of sinners.—They all seem to be exercised in an extraordinary
 way; lying as though they were dead for some time, without pulse or
 breath; some a longer, some a shorter time. Some rise with joy
 triumphant; others crying for mercy. As soon as they obtain com-
 fort, they cry to sinners, exhorting them to come to the Lord."

These *General Camp-Meetings*, not only came up to this descrip-
 tion, but far exceeded it. Early this spring, a work broke out in
 Madison county. On the 22 day of May, this year, a camp-meet-

ing was held on Cabin-creek. The next general Camp-meeting was held at Concord, in Bourbon county, the last Monday in May, or beginning of June; and continued five days and four nights. The next general meeting was at Point-Pleasant, (Ken.) The next at Indian creek, Harrison county, began 24 July, and continued about five days and nights. The GREAT GENERAL CAMP-MEETING, held at CANERIDGE, seven miles from Paris, (Bourbon county,) began on the 6 day of August, and continued a week. This meeting will be particularly noticed hereafter. Independent of these *general meetings*, the Methodists had many great and glorious meetings announced with their Presbyterian brethren. Indeed these meetings in each denomination were soon spread over the country; and this year extended over the Ohio river, into the N. W. Territory, now state of Ohio.

Having been raised in this state, the writer, then a youth, has many circumstances fresh upon his mind, with regard to this great work; but in aid of this narrative he is disposed to take along whatever he finds that may be correctly given by others. "At first appearance (says one) these meetings exhibited nothing to the spectator, unacquainted with them, but a scene of confusion, such as scarce could be put into human language. They were generally opened with a sermon, and at the close of which there would be an universal outcry; some bursting forth into loud ejaculations of prayer, or thanksgiving for the truth. Others breaking out in emphatical sentences of exhortation; others flying to their careless friends, with tears of compassion; beseeching them to turn to the Lord. Some struck with terror and hastening through the crowd to make their escape; or pulling away their relations.—Others trembling, weeping; crying out for the Lord Jesus to have mercy upon them; fainting and swooning away, till every appearance of life was gone; and the extremity of the body assumed the coldness of death.—Others surrounding them with melodious songs, or fervent prayers for their happy conversion; others, collecting into circles, round this varied scene, contending with arguments for and against the work. This scene frequently continued without intermission for days and nights toge-

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relating, and very interesting, but it would overleap our limits to nar-
 rate them; one at this time must suffice. "At Indian Creek, a boy
 from appearance about twelve years of age, retired from the stand
 in time of preaching, under a very extraordinary impression; and
 having mounted a log at some distance, and raising his voice in a
 very affecting manner; he attracted the main body of the people in
 a very few minutes. With tears streaming through his eyes, he
 cried aloud to the wicked, warning them of their danger, denounc-
 ing their certain doom if they persisted in their sins; expressing his
 love to their souls, and desire that they would turn to the Lord and
 be saved. He was held up by two men; and spoke for about an hour
 with that convincing eloquence, that could be inspired only from
 above. When his strength seemed quite exhausted, and language
 failed to describe the feelings of his soul, he raised his hand, and
 dropping his handkerchief, wet with sweat from his little face, cried
 out, "Thus Oh sinner, shall you drop into hell, unless you forsake
 your sins and turn to the Lord." At that moment some fell like those
 who are shot in battle, and the work spread in a manner which hu-
 man language cannot describe."

The numbers attending the Camp-meetings at this early period
 (1801,) on daily visits, whilst the meetings continued, and those at-
 tending them in their encampments, were immense.—The numbers
 varied, according to the population of the settlements where the meet-
 ings were held, and other circumstances, from three to twenty thousand
 souls. At one of these meetings (Cabin Creek) the scene was awful
 beyond discription! "few if any escaped without being affected; such
 as tried to run from it, were frequently struck on the way, or impelled
 by some alarming signal to return. No circumstance at this meeting
 appeared more striking than the great numbers that fell on the third
 night; and to prevent their being trodden under foot by the multitude,
 they were collected together, and laid out in order, on two squares
 of the meeting house, till a considerable part of the floor was covered.
 But the great meeting at *Caneridge* exceeded all. The number that
 fell at this meeting was reckoned at about three thousand, among whom
 were several presbyterian ministers, who, according to their own con-
 fession, had hitherto possessed only a speculative knowledge of reli-

gion. Here the formal professor, the deist and the intemperate met on one common lot, and confessed with equal candour that they were destitute of the true knowledge of God, and strangers to the religion of Jesus Christ. One of the most zealous and active Presbyterian ministers estimated the number collected on the ground at twenty thousand souls! At this meeting as well as at all others, wherever the work broke out, the Methodists appeared to be more active and more in their element than any other people. Indeed when it first appeared in most of the congregations, other ministers were so alarmed, not knowing what to make of it, that they would have deserted it, and their meetings too, had they not been encouraged by the Methodists. But they soon joined, and moved forward cordially in the work. Having been thus innured and prepared, this great meeting brought on a general engagement. It was necessary, that such a concourse should be scattered over a considerable extent of ground; of course there were several congregations formed, in different parts of the encampment, for preaching and other religious exercises. In consequence of so great a collection of people; it frequently happened, that several preachers would be speaking at once, to congregations as before described, generally embracing some of each denomination. Nor were they at a loss for pulpits: stumps, logs or lops of trees, served as temporary stands from which to dispense the word of life! At night the whole scene was awfully sublime. The ranges of tents, the fires, reflecting light amidst the branches of the towering trees; the candles and lamps illuminating the encampment; hundreds moving to and fro, with lights or torches like Gideon's army; the preaching, praying, singing and shouting, all heard at once, rushing from different parts of the ground, like the sound of many waters, was enough to swallow up all the powers of contemplation. Sinners falling, and shrieks and cries for mercy awakened in the mind a lively apprehension of that scene, when the awful sound will be heard, "arise ye dead and come to Judgment!"

It is by no means presumable that this vast multitude of people were all induced to attend this meeting as worshippers; but it is a fact, that many who were led thither by curiosity, returned with very different feelings from those with which they went.—A gentleman and lady of some note in the gay and fashionable world, went to the meeting with

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mirth and jesting, highly diverting themselves at the expense (as they thought) of those poor deluded beings who were falling, and perhaps rolling in the mud and dirt, screaming and crying for mercy; led on by curiosity, and perhaps as spectators, with an expectation of returning to give an account of the wonderful sights they had witnessed, and to laugh, ridicule, and make sport of it. With such sources of gratification, they were congratulating each other on their way to the meeting, and in the sequel it was agreed, that if one should fall, the other should by no means desert; but stay and take care of the fallen one. In this sportive disposition, they arrived at length at the place; but they had not been long on the ground before the lady fell! The sportive gentleman discovering the situation of his associate, paid no regard to his solemn obligation; but immediately fled with all speed: but before he had proceeded more than two hundred yards, the high-minded gallant shared the fate of his companion, and measured his whole length on the ground!! Of course, he was soon surrounded by a praying multitude!

But these meetings did not escape censure and opposition. It is difficult to control a large collection of people, of every description; hence it is, that there might have been, and probably were, many irregularities. The enemies of these meetings, who were generally prejudiced and bigoted professors, or the wicked who had no liking for them, took advantage of every circumstance, and exaggerated every unfavorable occurrence to such a degree as to give a false and dreadful coloring. The reports, and some publications, put into circulation, are incredible. "What persecution ever went on," asks Mr. Asbury, "that priests had not a hand in it?" Some bigotted priests, on this occasion, were quite busy. They were much worse at misrepresentation than the wicked themselves. But in them the scripture has been verified, "The measure that ye mete shall be measured to you again."

These public testimonies against the work, particularly by ministers, were means of stirring up and encouraging those who were openly wicked, to come forth to mock, oppose, and persecute; but even such were often unable to withstand the power; and sometimes in the very act of persecuting, they were struck down like men in battle;

and so alarming was the sight, that others on foot and on horseback would try to make their escape, and flee away, like those who are closely pursued by an army in time of war, and be overtaken by the invisible power, under which they would be struck down, and constrained to cry out in anguish, and confess their wickedness in persecuting the work of God, and warn others not to oppose it. Thus many who were openly profane, were taken in the very act of persecuting the work, and like Saul of Tarsus, were made the happy subjects, and zealous promoters of it; while bigoted professors, who had encouraged them on, remained like the "*heath in the desert that seeth not when good cometh.*"

In 1802 we had the established number of conferences, seven in all. One alteration took place, which was that the western conference was held in the latter part of the preceding year.

We admitted on trial near seventy young preachers this year, which was a pretty good supply for all our circuits.

The circuits received this year were the following :

BALTIMORE CONFERENCE.

Fredericksburg, John Pitts.

West Wheeling, Joseph Hull.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Ogeechee, James H. Mellard.

Appalachee, Isaac Cook.

PHILADELPHIA.

Broadkilm, David Best, Samuel Budd.

Dauphin, Jacob Gruber.

Cape May, Richard Swain.

Ulster, G. A. Knowlton, A. M'Cain.

Western, B. Willey, J. Wilkinson.

NEW YORK.

Adams, S. Merwin.

Grand Isle, Wm. Anson.

Wilbraham, Augustus Jocelyn.

Athens, Henry Eames.

Long Point, Thomas Madden.

NEW ENGLAND.

Falmouth, Asa Heath, O. Hall.

Hallowell, C. C. Smith, A. Humphrey.

Poland, P. Munger.

Union River, Alfred Metcalf, Wm. Goodhue.

We added 13,890 members to our society this year. This was the most prosperous year that the Methodists had ever seen in the United States. However, there was one year, 1790, in which we added almost 500 more ; but the number of young preachers this year was considerably greater ; and withal, we kept so many of the old preachers in the work, that we might well say, *The Lord is our helper and we will not fear.*

The work had spread through the middle states from the time of holding our general conference in 1800, and had been going on for some time in Kentucky and Tennessee states. There was scarcely any part of the country where the Methodist preachers travelled and labored, in which there was not a revival of religion.

In 1803 we had seven conferences, but one of them was held in October in the preceding year ; though it was entered on the minutes for that year.

We made an addition of twelve circuits and received about fifty preachers. The circuits were supplied as follows :

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Nollichuckee, Henry Smith.

Powell's-Valley, Benjamin Young.

Clinch, Moses Black.

Barren, James Quin, J. Young.

BALTIMORE.

Fredericktown, Henry Willis, J. Forrest.

PHILADELPHIA.

Lyttleton, A. Garrettson, P. Phillips, J. Durbin.

NEW ENGLAND.

Norton, E. Whittle, J. Robertson.

Bowdoinham, True Glidden.

NEW YORK.

Rockaway, Francis Ward, Sylvester Foster.

Southhold, John Finnegan.

Montreal, Samuel Merwin.

St. Johns and Sorelle, Elijah Chichester, Laban Clark.

We added 17,336 members to the society this year, which was a much larger number than we had ever added in any one year. Our ministers and people, throughout the connection, were uncommonly devoted to God; and much engaged to promote his cause. *Camp Meetings* were encouraged in many places; and attended by many ministers, and by thousands of people in the lower parts of Virginia and North Carolina; at which seasons the Lord was pleased to visit us in a remarkable manner, both saints and sinners, old and young people; so that the mouths of many gainsayers were stopped, and the hearts of many sinners were touched, and happily changed and renewed.

To give a full account of the spread of the gospel, and of the revival of religion among us this year, would exceed the bounds of a short history.

There was a gracious reformation, and many converted in the city of Middletown, in the state of Connecticut, in the course of the summer and fall of the year. A number of the inhabitants went from the city by water down the river to what they called a kind of field-meeting, where the work began, and several were awakened; and some of them were converted as they returned home. From that time the work revived, and a good many persons were in a short time brought to the knowledge of God by the forgiveness of sins.

In Kentucky, the work of the Lord was very great: in Limestone circuit there were about three hundred added to the society, and sinners were flocking home to God in every direction. This work was not confined to one place, but spread greatly through the state. The work was great in Tennessee, and very many were raised from a death of sin, unto spiritual life.

At that time there was a great union between the Presbyterians and the Methodists; and they frequently communed together, and united in holding camp-meetings, and in preaching together. In the Western

states, religion revived among other denominations as well as the Methodists.

In 1804 we had eight conferences, one of which was a general conference.

At these conferences we admitted on trial upwards of seventy young preachers, which were more than were ever admitted among us in any one year.

We also received quite an addition of circuits. They were—

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Willderness, J. Young.

Nashville, L. Edney.

Red River, R. Lotspeich.

Wayne, Wm. Crutchfield.

Livingston, Jesse Walker.

Illinois, Benjamin Young, Missionary.

Guilandotte, Asa Shinn.

Enoree and Sandy-River, Wm. Gassaway, H. Dannan.

BALTIMORE.

Deerfield, S. Bostwick.

PHILADELPHIA.

Westmoreland, E. Cowles, John Dickins.

Pompey, E. White, N. Smith.

Ontario, F. Woodward, Wm. Hoyer.

NEW YORK.

Black River, G. Sweet, Asa Cummins.

Lebanon, E. Chichester, N. U. Tompkins.

River Le French, Nathan Bangs.

NEW ENGLAND.

Magog, E. Fairbank.

Barre, O. Beale.

Bridgewater, C. Dnstin.

Grantham, E. Willard, D. Young.

Ashburnham, T. Ravlin.

This year we added 9,064 members to our society ; making in all 113,134 Methodists in the U. States : including those who are under our care in Canada. Thus hath the Lord blessed and prospered us in

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This year we held our fourth general conference in Baltimore, which began on the sixth day of May. We had 111 preachers present, who were regular members of that conference. I will here give an account of the number of preachers from each annual conference, of which there are seven.

From the Western conference	-	-	-	-	-	3
South Carolina	do.	-	-	-	-	5
Virginia	do.	-	-	-	-	17
Baltimore	do.	-	-	-	-	30
Philadelphia	do.	-	-	-	-	37
New York	do.	-	-	-	-	12
New England	do.	-	-	-	-	4

108

And three bishops

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111

The following rule was also formed; "The bishop shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station or circuit more than two years successively." In some cases, prior to that rule, the bishop had appointed a preacher or preachers to the same place for three years together. We now determined on a better plan, and formed this rule, to prevent any preacher from wishing or expecting such an appointment in future.

Religion prospered among us very much during this year also; and we had pleasing accounts from almost every part of the connection.

In the latter part of the summer or beginning of autumn, there was a camp meeting held low down in Virginia, near the town of Suffolk, where the power and presence of God were wonderfully displayed. The meeting began on Friday, and continued with but little intermission till Monday night, in which time it was thought that three or four hundred persons were converted to God. The accounts from that meeting appear to be incredible to those who were not present; but those who were eye and ear witnesses, think it to be too great to be sufficiently described.

In 1805 we had seven conferences.

This year, at the several conferences, we admitted about eighty young preachers upon trial, and had an addition of the following circuits.

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Licking, Benjamin Edge.

Roaring River, Richard Browning.

Mad River, Abraham Amos.

BALTIMORE.

Monroe, N. B. Mills.

PHILADELPHIA.

Scipio, Joseph Dunham, George Lane.

NEW YORK.

South Britain, Nathen Felch.

Haverstraw, W. Vredenburg.

NEW ENGLAND.

Livermore, Samuel Thompson.

Loudon, Caleb Dustin.

Tuftonborough, Lewis Bates.

The Methodists had increased more of late years in the United States, than formerly. We have more preachers, more circuits, more members, and (I may say) more religion that we ever had at any one time before.

This revival of religion was not confined to the Methodists alone, but other denominations were highly favored of the Lord. However, my business is to speak particularly of the Methodists, and to point out some of the many things which the Lord hath done for them.

In 1806 our conferences were as follows:

The 198 conference was held in Scott county, Kentucky, on the 2 of October, 1805.

The 199 in Camden, on the 30 of December, 1805.

The 200 in Norfolk, on the 14 of February 1806.

The 201 in Baltimore, on the 14 of March.

The 202 in Philadelphia, on the 14 of April.

The 203 in New York, on the 16 of May.

The 204 at Canaan, in New Hampshire state, on the 12 of June.

At these conferences we admitted upon trial upwards of eighty young preachers.

We added 10,625 members to the society; which was a large number of precious souls to be brought into the fold of Christ in one year. But it is an easy thing with the Almighty to forgive sins, and to do a great work in a short time.

There was also an increase of 19 circuits which, with their supply of preachers was as follows;

HOLSTEIN CONFERENCE.

Claiborne, Wm. Pattison,
Appalaugas, E. W. Bowman.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Sparta, James Mellard, R. Pierce.
Milledgeville, J. Tarpley, L. Pierce.
Louisville, John Campbell, John Hill.
Rocky River, T. Nelson.
Buncombe, Moses Matthews.

BALTIMORE.

Lycoming, Timothy Lee, Jesse Pinnel.
Monongahela, Wm. Page, J. Smith.
Mahoning, N. B. Mills.

PHILADELPHIA.

St. Martins, John Wiltbank, Thomas Burch.
Lyons, L. Reiley.

NEW YORK.

Quebec, N. Bangs.

NEW ENGLAND.

Stanstead, Philip Ager.
Northfield, Martin Ruter.
Centre-Harbour, Hezekiah Field.
Vasselsborough, John Williamson.
Orrington, Wm. Hunt.
Hampden, John Green.

This was a prosperous year among the Methodists, and the work of God was carried on in many places, in an uncommon manner, both in the conversion and sanctification of precious souls. Indeed, the work

was so great, that it appeared to be almost incredible among christians themselves who had never seen any thing to equal it before.

On the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, it was said that more than a thousand persons were converted at one camp-meeting, which lasted about five days and nights. The account was not merely a report, but it was given by ministers and people, who were eye and ear witnesses; and who had taken great pains to ascertain the exact number of those who during that meeting openly professed to be delivered from the burthen of their sins. The preachers appointed different men to attend in different parts of the congregation, for the express purpose of taking an account of such as got converted, and to report accordingly; and from their report there were upwards of a thousand converted at one meeting; and a greater number, at another meeting of the same kind.

In 1807, we had our conferences as follows:

The 205 conference was held at Ebenezer, in Tennessee, on the 15 of Sept. 1806.

The 206 at Sparta, in Georgia, on the 29 of Dec. 1806.

The 207 in Newbern, on the second of February, 1807.

The 208 in Baltimore, on the 2 of March.

The 209 in Philadelphia, on the 2 of April.

The 210 at Coeyman's Patent, on the 2 of May.

The 211 in Boston, on the 2 of June.

At these conferences we admitted upon trial a few more than a hundred young preachers.

A number of new circuits were also taken in which were supplied in the following manner, viz:

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Missouri, John Travis.

Ochitta, Thomas Lasley.

Licking, Wm. Ellington.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Ohoopce, Angus M'Donal.

VIRGINIA.

Rocky Mount, Thomas Shands.

Iredell, S. Garrard, H. Warren.

Raleigh, C. S. Mooring, Grey Williams.

BALTIMORE.

Washington City, John Watson.

Bald Eagle, E. Matthews.

Canisteo, John Richards, Geo. Morgan.

PHILADELPHIA.

Holland Purchase, Peter Vannest, A. Jenkins.

NEW YORK.

Buckland, Laban Clark.

In 1808, we had eight conferences, the last of which was a general conference.

We added to the society 7,405 members. Although our increase was not as great this year as it had been in some of the preceding years, yet we had great cause to be thankful for an increase of so many thousands.

In the month of May we had our fifth and last General Conference, and as we made some alterations in our rules and discipline, it will be necessary to take notice of them at this place.

The first alteration is respecting the general conferences in future, and as the change is very considerable, I will insert the rule at full length.

Q. "Who shall compose the general conference, and what are the regulations and powers belonging to it?"

A. 1. "The general conference shall be composed of one member for every five members of each annual conference, to be appointed by seniority or choice, at the discretion of such annual conference: yet so that such representatives shall have travelled at least four full calendar years, from the time that they were received on trial by an annual conference, and are in full connection at the time of holding the conference.

2. The general conference shall meet on the first day of May, in the year of our Lord 1812, in the city of New-York, and thence forward on the first day of May, once in four years perpetually, in such place or places as shall be fixed on by the general conference from time to time; but the general superintendents, with or by the advice of all the annual conferences, or if there be no general superintendents, all the annual conferences respectively shall have power to call a general conference, if they judge it necessary at any time.

3. At all times when the general conference is met, it shall take two-thirds of the representatives of all the annual conferences to make a quorum for transacting business.

4. One of the general superintendents shall preside in the general conference; but in case no general superintendent be present, the general conference shall choose a president pro tempore.

5. The general conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our church, under the following limitations and restrictions, viz.

1. The general conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our articles of religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine

2. They shall not allow of more than one representative for every five members of the annual conference, nor allow of a less number than one for every seven.

3. They shall not change or alter any part or rule of any government, so as to do away episcopacy, or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

4. They shall not revoke or change the general rules of the United Societies.

5. They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by committee, and of an appeal. Neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society, or by a committee, and of an appeal.

They shall not appropriate the produce of the book concern, or of the charter fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the travelling, supernumerary, superannuated and worn out preachers, their wives, widows and children. Provided nevertheless, that upon the joint recommendation of all the annual conferences, then a majority of two thirds of the general conference succeeding, shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions."

Our connection having spread very extensively, and the number of our preachers being much larger than they were formerly, it was thought best to make some new regulations about our general conferences in future, and the foregoing regulations were agreed to, by

which means each part of the connection would have a proportionable number of preachers in the general conference.

We had an addition of the following circuits which were supplied as follows :

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Marimac, E. Willcox.

Duck Creek, Zadock B. Thackston.

Silver Creek, Moses Ashworth.

Willis Creek, James Watts.

Washataw, A. Houston.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Tombeckbee, M. P. Sturdevant.

Reedy River, C. Wheat, B. Dulany.

Fayetteville, Thomas Mason.

VIRGINIA,

Neuse, Humphry Wood.

Smyrna, Thos. Walker, Geo. Harman.

Snow-Hill, Samuel Talbot.

Canaan, Gideon Draper.

NEW ENGLAND.

Palmira, Wm. Hinman.

There were added also a number of other circuits and stations which were the following:

Watanga, Wm. Pattison, M. Ashworth.

Tennessee Valley, Tho. Milligan.

Elk, Thos. Stillwell.

Dixon, Wm. Lewis.

Fleming, Josh. Oglesby, E. Wilcox.

Cold Water, John Crane.

White Water, H. Sanford, M. Crume.

Cincinatti, Wm. Houston, John Sinclair.

White Oak, David Young.

Marietta, S. Langdon.

Leading Creek, Thos. Lasley.

Alcovi, R. L. Edwards.

Oakmulgie, Benj. Gordon.

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ich were supplied

Cangoree, Wm. Scott.

Ashley & Savannah Rivers, J. H. Mellard Missionary.

From Santee to Cooper River, J. E. Glenn, Miss.

Great Falls, John Watson, Jos. Toy.

Antatany, Peter Beaver.

Bohemia, Asa Smith, Geo. Sheets.

Three-Rivers, Jas. Sampson.

Detroit, Wm. Case.

Booth, Benj. C. Fog.

Industry, Josiah Emerson.

Since the beginning of the present year we have had a pleasing prospect of religion, in various parts of the United States: and the accounts both verbal and written, from various persons, assure us that souls are coming to God by hundreds. At one camp-meeting, held near Lynchburgh in August, it was supposed that as many as eighty souls were converted to God from the beginning to the close of that meeting, which lasted only a few days. Soon after that, the work of God revived in the town of Lynchburg, and in the course of one week, it was thought that as many as eighty or ninety souls were born again. Such a wonderful display of the power and presence of God in the conversion of souls had never been known in that town.

recruits and stations.

In 1810 the work of reformation progressed. The increase was 11,525. At this time the preachers had extended their labors generally through the United States and Canada; there were revivals of religion in various places; but we cannot give particular descriptions of them, our limits will not admit of it. The work is the Lord's, to Him be all the glory.

The number of circuits added this year with their respective supply of preachers, were as follows.

WESTERN CONFERENCE.

Saltillo, James King.

Henderson, William Lewis.

Cape Girrardeau, Jesse Walker.

Vincennes, William Winans.

Letart Falls, John Clinghan.

Flint, J. M'Minn.
Knox, Robert Cloud.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Wateree, W. Warwick, John Webb.

VIRGINIA.

Straits, J. Morris.
Black River, C. S. Mooring.

BALTIMORE.

Hagers Town, James Paynter.
E. Wheeling, Simon Lauck.
Mishannon, Daniel Stansbury.

NEW YORK.

Hancock, P. Cook.
Troy, William Phœbus.
Middlebury, Phineas Peck.

1811.—This year there were extensive revivals mostly throughout the connection. In the returns of the circuits, they seem almost universally crowned with increasing prosperity. The total increase was 10,007. There were also 113 preachers received on trial. The Western conference received 26, the South Carolina 20, Virginia, 14, Baltimore 5, Philadelphia 10, New York 24, New England 12, Genesee 10.

Methodism having now spread over the United States and Canada, it is not deemed essential to notice the rise of circuits further, as by so doing this work would be augmented beyond its intended bounds.

At the general conference held in the city of Baltimore in 1808, on account of the great increase of our work, extending over so large a territory, the number of travelling preachers continually multiplying, it was resolved to establish a delegated general conference, to be composed of a certain number of delegates to be elected by the several annual conferences. This measure so necessary for the well being of the church, had been in contemplation by Bishop Asbury and others, elders in the ministry, for several years. When it was first proposed at this general conference, it met with a determined opposition, and was finally lost by a very considerable majority. Towards the close

of the conference, however, it was reconsidered, and presented in a somewhat modified form, and very unanimously adopted.

The first delegated general conference was held in the city of New York, in May, 1812. Among others, as delegates from the New York conference, was Mr. Garrettson; and such was the respect and confidence manifested towards him by his brethren, that at every subsequent general conference he was elected as one of their delegates. In this character, though he often differed with some of his brethren on certain points of church government, he always manifested the most stern and inflexible opposition to any innovation upon the established doctrines of the church; at the same time cheerfully bowing to the will of the majority on matters of indifference.

In this year, [1812] commenced the late war between the United States and Great Britain, which continued till March 1815. The commotion occasioned throughout the United States, as must be rationally supposed, proved a momentous barrier to the progress of religion in general. The spirit of politics raging to a high degree, with the incessant agitations among the population from various sources, all contributed, to lower down the standard of practical holiness, to turn many aside from the path of christian duty, and, to close the door in a great measure, against such as were striving to keep the spirit of vital religion in its usual elevation, and lead the ungodly in the way of repentance unto life.

To what attainments our church would have arrived in course of that period of tumult and war, can only remain a conjecture with all. It is natural to conclude however, that a far greater increase both of preachers and people, as well as of inward and outward holiness, would have been the result, than was the real case. In reference to the Itinerant ministry, but few additions were made: 16 was the total increase from the first year of the war, till the close, in 1815. This number was very inconsiderable in proportion to the increase of members which amounted to no less than 15,908, averaging something more than 5,300 in each year!

The Genesee conference held at Niagara 1812, sent as usual a supply of preachers to the circuits in the Canadas; but as the declaration of war was soon after proclaimed, but few of them repaired to their

appointments, and some that did, soon returned again to the United States.

In the Western and Southern conferences, during the war, the progress of Methodism was by far the most considerable: the South Carolina conference in particular, outvied all the others in point of numbers, except the Ohio; the former embracing fifty circuits and the latter forty-six.

The whole American connection was at this time divided into nine annual conferences, viz. Ohio, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, New England and Genesee and in the year 1817, the Missouri and Mississippi were organized and joined to the preceding number.

The addition of the two latter conferences, denotes the rapid progression of the Methodist cause in the Western countries, which was by no means very inconsiderable. Nor was the community at large advancing in a less rapid degree, since the yearly returns of the circuits, and stations were almost universally crowned with a copious increase. The North and East however, in the year 1817, surpassed by some thousands, the South and West. The whole increase in that year was 10,618, notwithstanding a diminution among the blacks to the amount of 1,107.

The first volume of the Methodist Magazine was published this year, at New-York, by Joshua Soule and Thomas Mason, Book Agents for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The increase in the Societies, was 4774. Number of conferences 11, and 486 circuits. The Baltimore conference exceeded all the rest in members.

1819.—The spirit of Reformation still seems elevated throughout the conferences. The increasing interests of the church, and the indefatigable exertions of the Ministers and people, are clearly demonstrated from the augmented numbers with which the annual returns from the circuits are crowned. The returns of the present year [1819] amount to 240,924, of which 39,174 are coloured members; making an increase of 11,297. The whole number of travelling preachers 898.

In 1820 the progress of the church surpassed by far that of any previous year, receiving an addition of 15,957 members and 92 travelling preachers. The third delegated General Conference was held in the city of Baltimore, at which time and place, a missionary society was instituted, under the title of "The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

It was resolved at this General Conference, to open a direct intercourse with the European Methodists, by the medium of delegates from one body to the other; and the Rev. John Emory was therefore delegated that year, to represent the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, to the British Conference in England. This intercourse has ever since been kept up. (*)

In the returns of the years 1821 and 1822, the travelling ministry had received an addition of 202; making in all 1106 itinerant preachers. The increase of members in 1821, was 21,256. In 1822, 16,476, which was 4,780 less than the preceding year.

In course of these two years the work of reformation made rapid progress through many parts of the church, though in the former year, the Ohio and Philadelphia Conferences sustained some loss. The Mississippi Conference approached nearly to double its former numbers. To the South Carolina, Baltimore, Tennessee, New-York, New England, and Genesee Conferences, were made the greatest additions: some of them receiving from two to three thousand members, and from twelve to thirty preachers each. While in some parts the church seemed to decline, and many of her members were dropping off on the right hand and on the left, the Lord was visiting her in other sections with the mighty out-pourings of his Holy Spirit, and crowning the endeavors of his faithful ministers and people, with abundant success. Many powerful revivals took place during these years, in various parts of some of the Northern Conferences, wherein many souls were gathered into the Church of Christ.

Equally prosperous likewise was the cause of religion in the following year, 1822.

The missions established among the Indian tribes seemed to wear an

(*) The visits of Dr. Coke had kept up this mutual intercourse till the year 1804, since which time it had been suspended till this year [1820.]

encouraging aspect. At the Wyandott mission eighteen natives were joined in communion with the church.

The mission school among the Creeks consisted of twelve children. The Chiefs, and many of the Indians, were very desirous of having their children instructed in the course pursued by the teacher. Some of the Cherokee nation had likewise embraced the christian religion, and united with the church.

1823.—Though many circuits were refreshed this year with the displays of the mercy and power of God, and many sinners were converted and brought to the fold of Christ in various parts of the community, yet, the increase of members in the church at large was considerable less than in any year since 1820; being 1568 less than the year previous 1822, and 6348 less than in 1821.

The Wyandott mission was this year in a flourishing state; forty children were at the school, who were making rapid progress in learning; and two hundred natives in all, had united with the church.

The mission at Jackson's Purchase was likewise in a prosperous condition: many, during the year, were joined to the church of Christ. The Creek mission likewise appeared quite promising.

In 1824 the General Conference was held in Baltimore.

The friendly intercourse which had been opened in 1820, between the two great bodies of Methodists, contributed much to the mutual satisfaction of both divisions. The British Conference therefore, despatched the Rev. Richard Reece, as their representative to the American general conference to be held this year, accompanied by the Rev. John Hannah.

Increasing darkness has sometimes been observed to be a prelude to an approaching day, and so indeed, may the less promising aspect of our Zion for a few years past, be viewed, as portending the approach of a more auspicious and glorious morn. The friends of Zion indeed began now to realize more fully, the fruit of their ardent toils and labors in the vineyard of the Lord. As a subject of encouragement to their fidelity and christian fortitude, they were brought to behold a superabundant increase of souls, to the fellowship of the church, amounting to near one thousand and one hundred more than they had witnessed for some years before.

There were now thirteen annual conferences; the one in Canada having been set off by the general conference. The annual conferences with their respective number of church members were as follows:

	No of Members.
1 Ohio Conference,	36541
2 Kentucky,	24691
3 Missouri,	11773
4 Tennessee,	25509
5 Mississippi,	9009
6 South Carolina,	39645
7 Virginia,	28098
8 Baltimore,	38316
9 Philadelphia,	35810
10 New York,	27195
11 New England	21625
12 Genesee,	24166
13 Canada,	6150

Total	328523
Total last year	312540

Increase this year	15983
Travelling preachers this year	1272
do do last year	1226

Increase this year	46
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Truly we may exclaim, "What hath God wrought" in the course of fifty one years! In 1773 the whole number of Methodists on the Continent of America, only amounted to 1160 private members, and 10 preachers; which when taken from the present number, leaves an increase of 327,625! averaging 6424 each year during the time.

During the four years interval between the general conference of 1824 and that of 1828, the cause flourished in some parts, while in others, the spirit of dissention seemed to prevail in a most destructive manner. The Baltimore conference it appears, suffered the most violent agitations by the loud cries of *Reform*; which resulted at length

in the separation of large numbers from the church. Nor was it confined within the limits of this conference alone—the New York, Ohio, and Genesee conferences likewise, became tainted in some parts with the same infection. The most efficient means employed from the press, in exciting the minds of the people upon this subject, was a periodical work which commenced its issue at Baltimore in 1824, entitled, “The mutual rights of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church;” edited and published by a committee of eight gentlemen who were the leading promoters of the Reform Question, so called, and four of whom were Ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church. These pamphlets were sent to various parts of the connection wherever the votaries of *Reform* were to be found. Occasional separations took place, and some dissenting societies were formed in various parts of the above named conferences.

These dissenters organized themselves into an independent church and adopted a name highly expressive of their character, which was that of PROTESTANT METHODISTS. They have progressed at length to a considerable extent, in some of the western States, and also in some parts of the south.

This sect is by far the most considerable of any that has revolted from the Methodist Episcopal church. The chief subject of their protestation, is that of *Episcopacy*. Some other changes in the form of government however, of a minor importance have been introduced among them. Such, for instance, as a delegation from the laity to the legislative bodies, &c.

Another schism arose in the city of New York, which has been known by the name of the STILWELL FACTION, from their leader who was of that name. A considerable number with him at their head revolted from the church, or declared themselves separate and independent, and formed themselves into a body under the name of NEW YORK METHODISTS.

These intestine agitations were truly distressing to the community in general, but more especially so in those particular sections where they occurred. At first sight one would suppose those racking contentions and revoltings must prove an unusual stagnation to *Original* Methodism. But facts demonstrate the reverse. Notwithstanding

those calamities the cause of God still prospered, and the Methodist Episcopal Church still triumphed over its numerous and opposing enemies. Great additions were made to the community, in point of numbers and extent of territory, as well as pecuniary advantages, &c.

The Rev. John Emory, D. D. was appointed book agent in connection with the Rev Nathan Bangs, D. D. by the General Conference in 1824. And in 1826, was issued the *Christian Advocate*: a most valuable periodical, devoted to religion, science, general intelligence, &c.; the proceeds of which is divided equally among the annual conferences to be applied in spreading the gospel, and in aiding the distressed travelling preachers, their wives, widows and orphans, &c. In the following year 1827, the *Christian Journal* published at Charleston, South Carolina, was connected with it. And in 1828, *Zions Herald*, published at Boston by the direction of the New England and Maine conferences, was also conjoined with the two former. By the union of these, the following title was formed: *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zions Herald*. This valuable production is extended in vast numbers throughout the United States; issuing weekly by many thousands, and conveying their useful and cheering intelligence to the inhabitants of the various cities, towns and neighborhoods, scattered over that extensive and happy country. Doubtless there is no journal on the continent, which meets with so extensive a circulation.

The church in the year 1825, seems to surmount her distressing difficulties, existing in some parts, and stand forth in the beauty and strength of the *God of the Armies of Israel*: more souls were added to her communion, than any previous year had witnessed, except that of 1821. The amount was 19,672. The Indian missions in Upper-Canada flourished, this and the following year, beyond what had ever been witnessed among them. The whole number of converted natives amounted to 250.

The Holstein conference was organized and joined to the list in 1825, including 14,934 members, and 41 ministers; and likewise the Maine Conference, containing 6,960 members and 46 preachers. In 1826, the Pittsburgh and Illinois conferences were sat off. The

former containing 17,147 members and 73 preachers, and the latter 13,042 members and 43 preachers, making in all, 17 conferences, 84 districts, 759 circuits and stations, 1406 travelling preachers, and 360,800 members! The increase in 1826, amounted only to 12,601 and 92 preachers.

May 1, 1828, the General Conference commenced its session in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. There were 160 delegates, and the five Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, viz. M'Kendree, George, Roberts, Soule and Hedding were present. An extract of a letter from one of the members of this conference dated Pittsburgh May 22, 1828, will afford some account of the results of its session.

To day the election for book agents resulted in the re-election of Dr. John Emory for editor and general book steward, the Rev. Beverly Waugh, for assistant editor and book steward, the Rev. Charles Holliday, agent at Cincinnati, and Dr. N. Bangs for editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal. The Rev. Wm. Capers is elected our representative to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

Though the conference has had to decide on some very important and delicate points, much harmony has prevailed, and there is a prospect that the close of the session will be in much peace and good will. The 24 instant is appointed for the adjournment of the conference, and its next meeting is to be in the city of Philadelphia, May 1, 1832.

The people of Pittsburgh have done themselves much credit by the kind and hospitable manner with which they have entertained the members of the conference. Much fear was indulged before coming to the place, that accommodations could not be had for so many men; but we have been happily disappointed, and shall carry with us a pleasing recollection of the urbanity and Christian courtesy exhibited by our friends in this city.

At this general conference in 1828, measures were taken for raising a fund, to be called the *Publishing fund*. The object of which was to erect a book establishment sufficiently extensive to embrace the, general book concern, connected with the Bible, Sabbath-School and Tract Societies. This fund was to be raised by the liberal donations of such as were disposed to give. The amount requisite to warrant its

commencement, was 50,000 dollars. This plan was published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, accompanied with solicitations for contributions, to be forwarded to New-York. Donations were therefore sent forward from almost every quarter of the community, the receipts of which were acknowledged in the Advocate and Journal and Zions Herald.

A considerable amount has been received, but the work is not as yet accomplished.

1829.—A truly prosperous year! such an ingathering of souls was never before known in the western world. 29,305 were brought into fellowship with the Methodist Episcopal Church! *Surely the Lord's ear is not heavy that he cannot hear, nor his arm shortened that he cannot save.*

The years 1830 & 31 yielded a copious increase to the cause of Methodism. Its march in the latter year, more especially, was, perhaps, never exceeded, since its cheering rays first shone upon the western world. The general progression of the work was no way inconsiderable. From all that can be readily ascertained however, the Oneida, Genessee and Ohio conferences, shared the fullest in this work of grace. Throughout the two former conferences, the fire of reformation spread in an astonishing manner, and thousands were made partakers of the grace of life.

In some villages where the four days, (or as they proved) protracted meetings were held, from one, to three or four hundred souls were converted in a very short period. In Moscow, a small village forty miles south of Rochester, N. Y. at a District Conference of local preachers, rising of fifty souls received forgiveness of sins in the course of about forty-eight hours. Besides, many others also, found peace before the meeting finally closed.

In Rochester a gracious work commenced in the autumn of 1830, soon after the close of the Genessee conference, which held its session in that place. In course of the fall and winter, the work was steady and progressive, and sometimes unusually powerful. Not unfrequently from ten to twenty broken hearted sinners, have found pardon and peace in Jesus Christ, in the space of two or three hours. When after preaching, in the evening, the invitation being given for the penitent to come forward for prayers, they often rushed around

the altar in crowds, and when there was not sufficient room, two or three tiers of the forward slips would also be filled. The involuntary sighs and groans, extorted from their breasts, it would seem, must rend the most adamant heart. Those scenes, indeed, although quite common comparatively, seldom failed of presenting to the contemplative mind the august events which will doubtless transpire at the judgment day. For while some were groaning, sighing and ringing their hands from a keen sense of a wounded and anguished spirit, and the servants of the living God, lifting up their voices in mighty supplication on their behalf, and others, who having found deliverance, and all absorpt in love were bursting forth in acclamations of praise; the gazing throng, struck with amazement, and awed into a sort of reverence before the King of Heaven, stood like statues beholding the wonderful work of God. The scene, surely, in some sense, formed a picture of that awful time, when the world shall be gathered before the Judge, where all, and each, must receive their final reward.

The additions made to the Society during the winter season, amounted on an average, to about thirty souls a week. Besides these there were great numbers of transient persons and strangers who belonged in other parts, and consequently could not be accounted.

The Pre-byterians, Baptists and Episcopalians, likewise shared largely in this interesting work.

In 1832, the general conference held its session in Philadelphia. This conference was famous for the election and ordination of two additional bishops, who were the Rev. James O. Andrew, of the South Carolina conference, and the Rev. John Emory, D. D. formerly Senior Book Agent at New-York. The Rev. Nathan Bangs D. D. was appointed to the editorship of the Methodist Magazine, the Rev. John P. Derbin, of Augusta College, and the Rev. Timothy Meritt, of the New England conference, as Editors of the Christian Advocate and Journal and Zions Herald, while the Rev. Thomas Mason was re-elected as joint Book Agent with the Rev. Beverly Waugh, to superintend the general Book concern.

Nothing of a calamitous nature has occurred to the cause of Methodism for some years past, and the auspicious aspect which this

branch of Zion seems now to assume, truly prognosticates the occurrence of some great and wondrous events, not far distant, which shall add to its lustre, advancement and superior rank, far beyond what could otherwise be imagined; and excelling indeed by far, all other branches of the church, which adorn the christian world. This may appear as assuming a high degree of superiority to all other christian orders, but the most incontrovertible facts, connected with the progress and respectability of the Methodist Church, amply support the presumption. Compare, for example, the unobscured and rational principles of its doctrinal code, the imperative requisitions of its discipline to the strictest minutias of a holy life with other orders: Nay, place in the balance with any other sect its progressive strides, for the same duration of time since its rise, and how readily are we constrained to acknowledge the force of the position. Where is the community whose progress has equaled that of the Methodist, and has retained the same degree of its primitive purity?

In the year 1736, the first foundation was laid, from which the whole Methodist connection, both on the Eastern and Western Continent has grown. In less than one century, therefore, it has spread over the Empire of Britain, the vast continent of North America, extended into the Continent of Europe, of Africa and Asia, visited the West Indies, the Isles of the South Sea, and those also in the Mediterranean. Scarcely any nation indeed, has been left unvisited by the heralds of the cross, raised up and sent forth by the Methodist Church, that has been accessible by the British or American governments. Nor is there scarce a nation where Methodism has been introduced, but that still retains it, in a greater or less prosperous degree.

Other christian denominations, indeed, have their excellencies, and are owned and blessed by the Great Head of the Church: their borders are enlarged, and their spiritual walls built up by numerous additions of worthy members. But in no one else do we find on strict examination, so much of the spirit of the apostolic age, and so many excellencies combined, together with such rapid progression and extent as that of the Methodist.

BOOK IV.

CONTAINING A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE DECEASED BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WITH THAT OF THE REV. JESSE LEE.

CHAPTER I.

A short account of the REV. THOMAS COKE, L. L. D.

The Rev. Thomas Coke, L. L. D. was born at Brecon, in South Wales, on the 9 of September, 1747 ; and was baptized on the 5 of the following month. His father's name was Bartholomew Coke. This gentleman was an eminent surgeon in Brecon. He was of high respectability, and several times filled the office of chief magistrate of the town, with much credit to himself and family, and with an equal degree of satisfaction to the public. His mother's name was Ann Phillips. This lady was the daughter of Thomas Phillips, Esq., and after him his grandson was called Thomas.

At the age of sixteen, he was removed from Brecon to Oxford ; and in the Lent term of his seventeenth year, was entered a Gentleman-Commoner at Jesus College, in that university. On finding revelation assailed by sophisms which he had never heard before, and those principles attacked, which he had never been instructed to defend, silence succeeded to astonishment at first ; but the poison was working its way through unguarded avenues to his heart ; so that by slow and imperceptible degrees, he became a captive to those snares of infidelity, which he had at first surveyed with detestation and horror.

It providentially happened about this time, that the discourses and dissertation of Bishop Sherlock fell into his hands. The reasonings of Sherlock, only made him a christian in theory. He was still a stranger to the religion of the heart, and knew nothing of the necessity of being born again. But an important point was gained ; it had brought him within the precincts of Revelation, and even laid him under an obligation to examine with deep attention, the various doctrines of that system which he had thus embraced. The effect followed which might naturally be expected. From a treatise on Regenera-

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tion by Dr. Witherspoon, he obtained a considerable knowledge of the
nature, and the necessity of it; but it was not until some time after-
ward that he was put in actual possession of that genuine faith which
unites the contrite soul to the Lord Jesus.

At the age of twenty one, he was chosen common councilman for
the borough of Brecon, which station his father had held when liv-
ing; and, at the age of twenty-five, he was elected chief magistrate,
which important office he filled with more than common reputation.

Several years had now elapsed since the first intimations had been
given that brought on the ambitious delirium with which he was still
enslaved; being properly qualified, he took out his degree of Doctor of
Civil Laws, on the 17 of June, 1775. During those intermediate
years, in which Dr. Coke, as we shall henceforth call him, waited upon
earthly promises, he made no great proficiency in seeking the accom-
plishment of those that are heavenly. Dr. Coke, having now ex-
hausted his patience, in waiting on those proficients in artificial friend-
ship—"who squeeze my hand, and beg me come to-morrow," began
seriously to look around him for some respectable curacy, that would
promise to be permanent. It was not long, before one of this descrip-
tion offered itself, at South Petherton, in Somersetshire. This he
readily embraced, as it offered him an ample field for the exercise of
his talents, of his zeal, and above all, of his earnest desire to be use-
ful, which, from his earliest recollection, had always been predominant
in his heart.

About this time, the doctor became acquainted with the Rev. Mr.
Brown, of Taunton, an old friend of Mr. Wesley. From this gen-
tleman he received some of the writings, both of Mr. Wesley and
Mr. Fletcher, which opened to his view scenes of usefulness, accom-
panied with labor and suffering, to which, till then, he had been a stran-
ger. All that was of God, in his naturally aspiring mind, eagerly
seized these openings of a new life; and "the ambitious stirrings,"
which Mr. Southey has imputed to Mr. Wesley, (not only without,
but contrary to all evidence,) were realized in the active mind of Dr.
Coke.

Hearing soon after, that Mr. Wesley was on his way to Cornwall,
and would be at Mr. Brown's on a particular day, the doctor resolved

to visit that gentleman, and thus obtain an introduction to the great founder of Methodism, whom he now admired above all men.

He found Mr. Wesley, as usual, mild and easy of access, with an appearance of happiness that exceedingly impressed him. The doctor staid all night; in the morning, Mr. Wesley having walked in the garden, he joined him there, and made known his situation, and enlarged desires. Mr. Wesley, with marked sobriety, gave him an account of the way in which he and his brother proceeded at Oxford, and advised the doctor to go on in the same path, doing all the good he could, visiting from house to house, omitting no part of his clerical duty; and counselled him to avoid every reasonable ground of offence. The doctor was exceedingly surprised, and indeed mortified. "I thought," said he, when he related the account to me, "he would have said, *Come with me, and I will give you employment according to all that is in your heart.*" But to be thus put off, and confined still to the work of a parish, while such extensive labors and usefulness passed in vision before him, was a disappointment he could hardly bear.

He however began, and his warm and active mind gathering strength in its progress, he proceeded to turn the parish into a kind of Methodist circuit. He visited and preached in every part of it; and as some showed signs of dissatisfaction, and spoke against his proceedings, he cast off all restraint; and after the second lesson, on the Sunday morning, he commenced the practice of reading an account of his intended labors for the week to come, to the amazement of his auditory.

These bold advances soon brought matters to a crisis. The doctor was dismissed from his curacy; and as his opponents found out the day on which he was to leave the town, the bells were rung, and some hogsheads of cider were brought into the street, that those who were so disposed might rejoice over the deliverance of the parish from its Methodist curate.

On Mr. Wesley's next visit to that part of the kingdom, Dr. Coke joined him, and accompanied him to Bristol. In this city, among a people established in the true faith of the gospel, the doctor's gentlemanly manners, his manifest zeal for religion, and his attachment to Mr. Wesley, gained him universal love and esteem. His biographers

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has however, manifested very little knowledge of Mr. Wesley's character, in supposing that he kept the doctor under his own eye for some considerable time, fearing that he might be tempted to turn back, and that he should thus loose a helper that promised to be so useful. In all these things, Mr. Wesley always kept his mind perfectly free, knowing his high responsibility. Speaking of his own constant fellow laborers, to whom under God he was indebted for his great success, he observed many years before this time, "The desire of serving me, as sons in the gospel, was on their part, not mine; my wish was to live and die in retirement." He was still more cautious with respect to the clergymen who joined him. He well knew that only those whom *the Lord of the harvest thrusts forth* into the work would be permanently useful in it; and he certainly was in no bondage respecting Dr. Coke. Upon Mr. Wesley's going to London, he left the doctor at Bristol, where he remained a considerable time.

While Dr. Coke continued in that city he became more fully acquainted with the rules of the society into which he had entered. The discipline, which has been detailed in these memoirs, it now became his duty to maintain, and consequently to be present at all the meetings of the society. In these meetings he listened to Christian experience, to which he was himself a stranger; and not unfrequently, without being conscious of the cause, he found himself in that embarrassing situation described by President Edwards, of New England, in his "*Considerations on the work of God*," in that province: "How melancholy," observes that great man, "is the case of one who is to act as a shepherd and guide to a people, many of whom are under great awakenings, and many are filled with divine light, love, and joy; to undertake to instruct and lead them all, under those various circumstances; to be put to it to play the hypocrite, and force the airs of a saint in preaching, and, from time to time in private conversation; and, in particular dealing with souls, to undertake to judge of their circumstances; to talk to those who come to him as if he knew what they said; to try to talk with persons of experience, as if he had experienced as well as they; to force a joyful countenance and manner of speech, when there is nothing in the heart. What sorrowful work is here! O how miserable must such a person feel! What wretched slavery is

this ! Besides the infinite provocation of the most high God, and displeasure of his Lord and Master !”

The case of Dr. Coke, who truly wished to do good, was however, not so lamentable. He was not in the condition of an ungodly minister who, for a living, undertakes such a work. The doctor had no stipend, his own fortune being sufficient for his support ; and, not being convinced of sin, he felt no misery. He did not, indeed, like Mr. Southey and others, suppose that those people labored under a mental disease ; on the contrary, he supposed them sincere and of a sound mind ; but he comforted himself with his own supposed advantages. — “ They have,” he said to himself, “ a knowledge of God among them, which is strange to me : but in philanthropy, and in large views for the good of mankind, I am superior to them.”

The doctor was now prepared to attend more seriously to what he heard among a people who were well acquainted with those teachings and reproofs of the Spirit of God, and with that renunciation of ‘ their own righteousness’ which must precede the obtaining of ‘ that righteousness, which is of God by faith.’

He obtained that faith which gave his laboring conscience peace ; and which, in a mind naturally so ardent, raised him up as on the wings of eagles ! He joined from that time in all the exercises of religion with a fervor that surprised many, and caused the people to whom he ministered to glorify God on his behalf.

He confined himself no longer to the duties of a clergyman, but took part in all the work of a regular preacher. Preaching abroad, and in all the chapels ; exhorting all with a zeal almost equal to Maxfield himself ; ‘ instant in season and out of season,’ no labors seemed too much for him,—no journeyings too fatiguing ; so that Mr. Wesley used to say, he was to him as a right hand.

As Dr. Coke, towards the latter period of his life, was chiefly engaged in the promoting of Missions, his name stood at the head of the missionary department, in the appointments of the preachers. And as superintendent of the Missions he regularly published, during the last seven years or more of his life, an annual report, in which he traced the rapid or progressive advancement of the work of God in various parts of the world. Among these it is pleasing to review the

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manner in which it has prospered in Ireland, and to trace the kind hand of Providence, in preserving his ministers and faithful people in the midst of surrounding discouragements and dangers.

He had lived to behold missions established in Ireland; in Wales; in the uncultivated parts of England; in America; in the West Indies; at Gibraltar; and at Sierra Leone. In all these places he had seen prosperity attend the word which he had thus been made instrumental in planting. These, therefore, no longer required that fostering care, which their infant state had rendered necessary; and, consequently, he found himself somewhat free from those calls of duty, which, on former occasions, were too imperious to be resisted.

From his various publications he was also disengaged, by having transferred the whole to the Conference. Of both wives he had likewise been deprived by the inscrutable dispensations of Heaven, so that he was again free to enter upon any new enterprise that might promise to enlarge the boundaries of Zion. These considerations, in their combined effect awakened within him a latent desire which had long smoldered in his bosom, to turn his thoughts towards the shores of India.

In the year 1813, when his resolution to visit India was nearly formed, Dr. Coke opened a correspondence with the late Dr. Buchanan, whose valuable researches in India have made the Christian world his debtor. From this gentleman he also received much additional information, as well as a confirmation of what he had previously received from other quarters, particularly from Col. Sandys, Dr. Buchanan's intimate friend, correspondent, and relative. It was through Dr. Buchanan that his views were more immediately directed towards the island of Ceylon, the obstacles there being fewer in number, and less in magnitude, than those which must have been encountered, in case he had thought of entering immediately among the Hindoos. This was recommended as a preparatory step, that might enable him and his associates to acquire more particular knowledge of the continent, to which the missionaries might repair hereafter, when they had fully established themselves in Ceylon, where part of the inhabitants, not wholly ignorant of Christianity, might be addressed in the languages of Europe.

At the Conference of 1813, which was held at Liverpool, Dr. Coke introduced his design to visit India, stating at large the providential concurrence of circumstances which had appeared, the favorable disposition which some men in power had manifested towards the mission, and the reasons which had finally led him to visit the eastern regions of the globe. At the same time he introduced to the Conference six men whom he had procured to accompany him, and share in his toils. Of these volunteers in the cause of God, James Lynch, William Auld, George Erskine, William M. Harvard, and Thomas Squance were already travelling preachers, and to these were added two approved local preachers whose names were Benjamin Clough and John M. Kenny.

Dr. Coke and his companions continued in London, attentively studying the Portuguese language, and making other arrangements for their departure, until the 10th of December, when they found it necessary to repair to Portsmouth, to be in readiness to embark, as they had taken their passage on board of two ships belonging to the fleet: the *Lady Melville*, commanded by Captain Lochmer; and the *Cabalva*, commanded by Captain Birch. Dr. Coke with Mr. Harvard, his wife and Mr. Clough, were stationed in the latter, and the others in the former. It certainly would have been desirable, if they could all have embarked in one ship, but neither the *Lady Melville* nor the *Cabalva* could receive them without incommoding other passengers; and to have taken another ship, in which all could be accommodated, would have cost them an additional sum of 900*l.* for their passage.

They continued at Portsmouth until the 30, when taking leave of their affectionate and hospitable friends on shore, and of each other, the parties separated to meet no more. till they greet each other in the world of spirits. Very early the next morning they weighed anchor and put to sea under the influence of a favorable breeze, and amidst the prayers of the pious, who witnessed their final departure from their native shores. "Our fleet," says Dr. Coke, "when we sailed, consisted of a line of battle ship, of 74 guns, two frigates, a sloop of war, six regular Indiamen, two country Indiamen, (ships built in India) and about 25 smaller merchantmen." Several of the

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merchantmen were bound for several parts of the world, and only sailed in company to certain latitudes, to avail themselves of the protection which the convoy afforded.

On the 23 they passed the island of Bourbon, and though about twelve leagues from the shore, they distinctly saw with the naked eye, the flames issuing from a volcano. Sometimes the blaze appeared stationary for a short season; and then, as the mountain was high, it resembled a comet shining in the distant heavens. At other times, the eye was arrested by a stream of fire, moving with inconceivable velocity in sportive coruscations, and occasionally changing in its varying hues, from gleams of brilliancy, to a dismal and lurid gloom. On the 24, they passed the isle of France. And, on the 27, they were within five miles of the little isle of Gallega, yet no soundings could be found with a line of fifty fathoms.

But they were now brought to the margin of an event, which was of too much magnitude, and was too deeply interesting to all the missionaries, to allow them time to make observations on any thing besides. This event was nothing less than the sudden and unexpected death of Dr. Coke. Cheerful, and animated with the mission which now was full in prospect before him, he had enjoyed a good share of health during all the former part of their voyage; and instead of having any presentiment of his death, he was ready, on most occasions, to comfort those whose spirit sunk under the violence of continued storms. Even to the last day of his life his exertions in his study were unremitted, to prepare himself for those missionary labors, on which he had already entered, and of which he beheld the happy effects by a pleasing anticipation. But his work was done; and his days were brought to an end, like a tale that is told.

On the first day of May, he just hinted that he found himself somewhat indisposed, but his complaint was of so trifling a nature, that neither himself nor his companions viewed it in any serious light. On the 2 day of May he continued much the same; his indisposition was not wholly removed, but he did not perceive it to increase. He conversed as usual, and walked the deck at his accustomed hour. In the evening, as he was about to retire to rest, he requested Mr. Clough to give him from their chest a little opening medicine. With this re-

quest Mr. Clough instantly complied, offering at the same time to sit up with him during the night. But this offer was refused by Dr. Coke, who did not think himself so much indisposed as to render such attention necessary. He, therefore, on retiring to rest, took his fellow missionaries by the hand, and, in his usual manner, commended them to God. This was the last time his voice was ever heard.

To improve his moments to the utmost, it had been his constant practice while on board, to rise every morning at half-past five; and to prevent him from sleeping beyond his accustomed time, the servant who attended him, had received orders to call him from his bed at the appointed hour. On the morning of the 3 of May, the servant knocked, as usual at his cabin door. But after several efforts, being unable to procure any reply, he ventured to open the door. This being done he discovered to his utter astonishment, the mortal remains of Dr. Coke, lifeless, cold, and nearly stiff, stretched upon the cabin floor.

The servant, on making this discovery, hastened to the apartment of Captain Birch, making him first acquainted with the melancholy tidings. Captain Birch, on hearing of the event, immediately sent for Mr. Clough, and communicated to him the awful information. Mr. Clough instantly hastened to Mr. Harvard, and imparted to him the tale of woe. Both then proceeded to the cabin of Dr. Coke, and saw that the catastrophe, which they would gladly have disbelieved, was mournfully true.

The corpse had by this time been taken from the floor, and laid on the bed; but from the placidity which rested on the countenance, it did not seem to have been agitated by any convulsive throes. The head appeared to be a little turned towards one shoulder; but with this exception, no distortion whatever was visible. As soon as the agitation, which the sudden shock had occasioned, had a little subsided, they requested the surgeon of the ship to examine the body. With this request he readily complied, and the result of his examination was, the probability that his death was occasioned by a fit of apoplexy, to which, from the make of his body and the nature of his constitution, he appeared to have been somewhat predisposed. But of this fact no satisfactory evidence can be either expected or obtained, as he died suddenly and alone.

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It was supposed by those on board, that he must have risen from his bed, either to procure something that was not within his reach, or to call assistance, as he found his indisposition to increase; but that the stroke coming so suddenly on him, with irresistible violence, he fell immediately on the floor, and instantly expired in that position in which he was found by the servant. It is furthermore presumed that his death must have happened about midnight. If it had been much earlier, his fall must have been heard by some in the adjoining cabins who had not long retired to rest; and if it had been later, his body could not have been stiff and cold. Divided from his cabin only by a thin wainscoat partition were the cabins of Captain Birch and Mr. Harvard; but as neither of these heard the least noise from his apartment, it is fairly to be presumed that he expired without a struggle or a groan.

As the Lady Melville was at no great distance, and the weather was serene, Captain Birch kindly offered to Messrs. Harvard and Clough a boat, to transmit the melancholy tidings to the missionaries on board that ship. A note was accordingly written by Mr. Harvard to the brethren on board, and another from Captain Birch to Captain Lochner stating the awful fact, and requesting the missionaries to hasten to the Cabalva, and join in the mournful consultation. On receiving their note, the missionaries gazed on each other in speechless amazement, scarcely presuming to credit the intelligence which its lines had imparted, or to believe the evidence of their eyes. They were however, soon roused from this natural delirium, by the surgeon of the Lady Melville, who entered their cabin with the note of Captain Birch to Captain Lochner in his hand, announcing to them with unquestionable certainty, that Dr. Coke was actually dead.

Expiring hope being now deprived of every subterfuge, the mournful band repaired on board, to mingle their tears with those who were already weeping there. Their first meeting was rather speechless than silent; and the sensations of their bosoms at the sight of each other, no language can fully express. Their own situation was now rendered truly forlorn: but the tide of sorrow, on which they were borne by their present calamity, swallowed up every other consideration, thus leaving to them no room for reflections on their private concerns.

When the first transports of their grief had somewhat subsided, they held a consultation together, to contrive in what manner they might preserve the body, and, in compliance with Dr. Coke's will, restore it to England, that it might be interred at Brecon, with his wives. But as nothing could be done without the concurrence of Captain Birch, they agreed to wait on him, and state the particular wish which their deceased father in the Lord had frequently expressed. Messrs. Ault and Clough undertook this task, and on being introduced, communicated their message. To every thing they urged he paid the most scrupulous attention, and expressed his earnest desire to comply with their wishes, so far as prudence and propriety would admit. But on the present occasion, he thought the difficulties against preserving the body to be so numerous and so formidable, that their request amounted to little less than a moral impossibility.

Being disappointed in their hopes, in the same proportion that they were convinced by his arguments, Messrs. Ault and Clough then withdrew, to communicate to their associates in sorrow the observations which Captain Birch had made. A consultation was immediately held; and after deliberately weighing all that had been, and might be urged, on both sides, they finally concluded that it would be prudent to submit to the Captain's opinion, and suffer the body of Dr. Coke to be committed to the deep.

On communicating this reluctant acquiescence to the Captain, he seemed highly pleased with their determination, and requested them to pursue any plan they might think proper in celebrating his funeral solemnities. But as this was a point on which they had not deliberated, it became necessary for them to withdraw, to hold another consultation. Their ship was now within about two degrees of the equator and the intenseness of the heat rendered it improper for them to preserve the body, which would soon become putrid in a cabin, contiguous to which, several passengers must sleep. It was therefore resolved, that his obsequies should take place on the evening of the same day.

The carpenters therefore prepared a large thick coffin, in which the corpse was deposited with four cannon balls and four bags of sand, to accelerate its descent; and, which, after the funeral service was per-

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formed, was consigned to the great deep to be seen no more, till " the great trump shall sound, and call forth the sleeping dust into incorruptible life." This solemn event took place on the 3 day of May, 1814 in latitude 2 deg. 29 min. south, and longitude 59 deg. 29 min. east, from London. After thus having paid their last respects to Dr. Coke, the missionaries were at liberty to reflect on their situation: being nearly in the middle of the Indian ocean, without a known friend on board to render them that assistance, which all would require, as soon as they arrived at the foreign shore. They however arrived safe at the destined port, on the 21 day of May, where they met with a favorable reception, by a gentleman to whom they in connection with Dr. Coke had been recommended by a friend in England.

CHAPTER II.

A short account of BISHOP ASBURY.

The Venerable Frances Asbury Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was a native of Staffordshire, England, and was born the 20 of August 1745. When but a child, he was impressed with the importance of religion, which led him studiously to avoid those scenes of vice and carnal amusement prevalent among the youth of his age.

From his sobriety and serious deportment, he was often ridiculed and called a Methodist Parson. His mother likewise inviting religious people to her house, afforded his wicked companions an opportunity of carrying their persecution to still greater lengths. By the conversation of one of the Methodists, visiting his father's house, he was awakened to a sense of his lost state when about fourteen years of age; which led him to an inquiry, who, where, and what these people were. His mother therefore directing him to Wednesbury, where they regularly preached, he soon began to learn who they were, and what spirit they were of. "The people," he observes "appeared very devout, men and women kneeling, saying Amen. Now behold they were singing hymns--sweet sound! Why strange to tell! the preacher had no prayer-book and yet he prayed wonderfully; what was yet more extraordinary, the man took his text and had no sermon book. Thought I, this is wonderful indeed! 'Tis certainly a strange way, but it is the best way. The preacher talked of confidence, assurance &c., of which all my flights fell short.

Soon after this he began to hold meetings in various places, exhorting the people to repentance and a godly life, and his labors were blessed to the awakening of souls. He had preached some months, before he appeared publicly in the Methodist meeting houses, when his labors became more extensively witnessed. Some were amazed, not knowing that he had exercised elsewhere. He was now received by Mr. Wesley as a local preacher, in which sphere he acted for some time, with great acceptance and usefulness; he was called at length, to occupy a more extensive field of gospel labor in an itinerant course.—Entering on an itinerant life, he assiduously devoted his whole time, in publishing the glad tidings of salvation to a perishing race.

He pursued an itinerant course in his native land, until the year 1771, when he volunteered as a missionary to America; where he landed, at Philadelphia, on the 27 of October, in the same year. Being appointed General Assistant by Mr. Wesley, he continued to preside in the conferences, and exercise the functions of his office under Mr. Wesley, till the year 1784, when by Dr. Coke and several of the elders he was ordained Bishop of the church, which had been organized at the same conference. Here he continued to discharge the duties of his office as Bishop, by travelling through every part of the United States, preaching, and superintending the work, for the space of thirty two years! when on the 31 of March, 1816, he bid a sudden adieu to all terrestrial things, and “ceased at once, both to work and live,” after toiling for more than half a century as an ambassador of Christ, for the salvation of perishing souls. During the time of his ministry, it is presumed that he preached from fifteen to eighteen thousand sermons—presided at more than two hundred conferences, travelled on this continent from one to two hundred and fifty thousand miles, and perhaps ordained more ministers than any other man ever did!!! Bishop Asbury possessed good natural and acquired abilities—read the scriptures in the languages in which they were originally written; was acquainted with the several branches of polite literature, which he appeared studious to conceal. But nothing short of deep and uniform piety, could so long have secured to him the love, and confidence of a people, who knew how to distinguish between the form and the power of godliness.

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For almost half a century, this extraordinary man traversed this exten-
sive continent. The Rev. Ezekiel Cooper speaks thus concerning him:

“It is scarcely necessary to mention, what must be so obvious, that
in performing his astonishing and annual tours, and in attending to all
the vast variety of his Christian, ministerial, and episcopal duties and
calling, he must have been almost continually on the move. Flying,
as it were, like the angel through the earth, preaching the everlasting
gospel; no season, no weather stopped him. Through winter’s cold,
and summer’s heat, he pressed on. He was often in the tempest and
the storm; in rain, snow, and hail; in hunger, thirst, weariness, and
afflictions. Sometimes uncomfortable entertainment, with hard lodg-
ing, and unkind treatment. ‘I soar,’ said Mr. Asbury himself, ‘but
it is over the tops of the highest mountains.’—Then to the distant and
remote settlements, traversing solitary and gloomy valleys;—crossing
and recrossing dangerous waters;—administering the word of life in
lonely cottages, to the poor and destitute;—sleeping upon the *floor*,
or on beds of *straw*, or not much better, in houses of logs, covered
with bark of trees, or wooden slabs; sometimes lodging in the wilder-
ness and open air,—with the earth for his bed, and the sky for his can-
opy, surrounded by ravenous beasts, and fierce savages. He knew
how to abound among the wealthy, and how to endure hardship and
want among the poor. This was his *manner of life*, to spend and be
spent, in going about from place to place, like his Master, and the
disciples of old, in doing good. He *cheerfully* and *willingly* conde-
scended to men of low estate. Even the poor *African race*, in bond-
age and wretchedness, were not neglected by him. He attended to
their forlorn condition, and taught them the way of life and salvation.
When among the great, the honorable and the rich, he manifested
humility in prosperity; maintaining, at the same time, a dignified in-
dependence of spirit, *without exaltation*. When among the poor and
lower classes of society, he showed a courteous condescension, and
manifested content and patience in adversity. He went on through
good report, and through evil report, among the rich, the poor, the
wise, and the unwise:—*at all times, among all people, in all places,*
and upon *all occasions*, his aim was to promote the cause of God; to
be instrumental to the good of man, and to the salvation of precious souls.”

CHAPTER III.

A Short Account of BISHOP WHATCOAT.

The venerable Richard Whatcoat, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, was a native of England and born in Quinton, Gloucestershire, 1736, but early removed to the town of Darlestone, in Staffordshire, one mile west of Wednesbury, where he became a member of the Methodist society; a society as ancient, well tried, greatly persecuted, and as respectable according to the number of members as any in the United Kingdoms. He was a member of that society about eight or nine years. His gravity, sincerity and simplicity, (virtues in which he greatly excelled,) recommended him very early to the office of leader, steward, and local preacher. In the year 1769, he gave himself to God, and the oversight of the British Conference, as a travelling preacher. He moved extensively through England, Ireland, and the principality of Wales. In the year 1784, he came to the United States of America, and served the Methodist connection in various and important stations, in Cities, Towns, Circuits, and Districts, with the pious fidelity of an apostolic man of God. Upwards of six years in the latter part of his life, he served in the superintendency of the church, which advanced him past the 70 year of his age.

We will not use many words to describe this almost inimitable man so deeply serious—who ever knew him trifling or light? who ever heard him speak evil of any person, nay, who ever heard him speak an idle word, dead to envy, pride, and praise. Sober, without sadness, cheerful without levity—careful without covetousness, and decent without pride. He died, not possessed of property sufficient to have paid the expenses of his sickness and funeral, if a charge had been made: so dead was he to the world.

Although he was not a man of deep erudition, yet probably he had as much learning as some of the apostles, and primitive Bishops. He was deeply read in the word of God, his knowledge in the scriptures was so great, that one of his friends used to call him his concordance. He gave himself greatly to reading. Notwithstanding he was called to the office of an overseer, at an advanced age of life, he magnified his office by travelling annually three or four thousand miles through all the United States.

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A complication of painful and irresistible diseases produced and aggravated by excessive travelling, closed the scene. He was a prodigy of pain, and patience for fifteen weeks. He departed this life in full assurance of faith, July 5, 1806, in the State of Delaware.

He proved himself worthy of the affection, and confidence of the Methodist Connection in Europe and America: but we cannot in a few lines speak his christian and ministerial excellencies. Indeed they cannot be enumerated, for the man of deep piety, frequently will not let his left hand know what his right hand doeth." He labored and travelled in Europe and America for about thirty eight years. He professed the justifying and sanctifying grace of God, and all that knew him, well might say, if a man upon earth possessed these blessings, surely it was Richard Whatcoat.

March 30, 1807, at the place of his tomb, Wesley Chapel, in Dover, Bishop Asbury made some funeral observations upon the death of Richard Whatcoat, his faithful colleague, from 2. Timothy 1. 10. *But thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, pur- pose, faith, long suffering, charity, patience.* "That he had known Richard Whatcoat from his own age of fourteen, to twenty four years most intimately, and had tried him most accurately in the soundness of his faith, in the doctrine of universal and the complete and general atonement. The insufficiency of either moral or ceremonial righteousness for justification to faith alone, in the merit and righteousness of Christ. The doctrine of regeneration and sanctification, his holy manner of life in duty at all times, in all places, and before all people, as a christian and as a Minister. His long suffering, a man of great affliction of body and mind, having been exercised with severe diseases and great labors. But this did not abate his charity, his love to God and man in all its effects, tempers, words and actions, bearing with resignation and patience, great temptations, bodily labors and inexpressible pain. In life and death placid and calm: as he lived so he died.

CHAPTER IV.

A short account of the REV. JESSE LEE.

Jesse Lee was born in Prince George's county, Virginia, in the year 1758. In the fifteenth year of his age, he was brought to a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. In 1783, he joined the Methodist itinerant ministry and received his first station on Caswell circuit. The Methodists at that time were but few, and but little known; and like the primitive christians, much persecuted by the ignorant and profane. Such indeed as were distinguished by the name, were generally held objects of reproach and ridicule. Acting however under a sense of duty to his God and fellow-men, Mr. Lee was content to suffer the reproach of Christ, from a view, that it was far preferable to *the pleasures of sin for a season*

Possessing neither extensive learning, nor those splendid talents that captivate the admiring auditory with the flowers of rhetoric, he was only studious to render himself useful to his fellow-men by applying the truths of the gospel to their consciences in an open, unadorned and simple manner; so as to produce a lasting and salutary effect. After travelling some time in Virginia and Maryland, he was appointed a missionary to New England. Here his travels and success may be seen, in the accounts of Methodism in those parts given in the preceding book of this present history.

In 1796, he was appointed Presiding Elder of all that portion of the work.

In this section of country his labors proved so eminently useful in spreading the gospel of Christ, and in raising up a people into the Lord, that he very properly acquired the appellation of **THE APOSTLE OF NEW ENGLAND!!** many will no doubt rise up and call him blessed.

In the year 1799, he was chosen by Bishop Asbury for his travelling companion.

After leaving this scene of his ministerial career, he repaired to his former course, in taking a more special charge of the flock of Christ—often filling the office of Presiding Elder, in New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia.

In 1810, Mr. Lee wrote a history of the Methodists; which

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appears to be a faithful narration, and in many respects a very particular one. He also compiled the life of his Brother, John Lee, who was one of the primitive Methodist preachers. In 1816 he was stationed at Annapoles where he closed his long life of useful labor, and entered with joy into his eternal reward.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF METHODISM IN CANADA.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory remarks—Methodism in Quebec—its rise in Upper Canada,—Mr. McCaily,—Mr. Losee.

Various are the phenomena in the annals of the christian church, which, in every age, have served, both to counteract the sophisms of the sceptic, and call forth into lively emotion, the wonder and admiration of its numerous votaries. Among others, assuming a more miraculous form, may be classed the introduction, and unremitting spread of the gospel into divers countries, under the most unpromising and trying circumstances. In its primitive age, indeed, christianity was widely extended among many nations, where its special messengers had never repaired; and by the most simple and defenceless measures, its progression rolled on, in defiance of all the competition, of the sagacious and opposing schemes of the pagan world.

Events of a minor importance, indeed, have often proved the basis of its first rise, and the instrumentality of its subsequent advancement, to an extensive degree. Under this head may be placed, the great revival of primitive christianity under the specious form, of Methodism, which is extending its borders into every quarter of the globe. Its rise in Britain, it seems, was wholly incidental: nor was its introduction less so, indeed, into the United States and Canada; the latter of which, was not visited by its enlivening beams, until it had gained a firm standing in both the former countries.

The first accounts indeed, which we have of Methodism in Canada, was in the year 1780: when it was brought into Quebec by the arrival of the British troops, in time of the American revolutionary

war. A number of the soldiery there were, who belonged to the Wesleyan connection in England and Ireland. Among these also, was a gentleman by the name of Tuffey, who had been an occasional helper with Mr. Wesley, and who officiated as commissary of the 44 regiment. Upon their arrival, Mr. Tuffey, being zealous for the glory of God, commenced a course, which he pursued during nearly the three years stay he made in that place : which was that of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ as he had opportunity, to such of the soldiery, and citizens as were disposed to hear. Although he had not that success which followed the labors of the pious Haime on the continent of Europe, and although no particular society was formed yet the preaching of Mr. Tuffey, no doubt, as an incidental occurrence, proved the introduction of this wide-spreading and evangelical community, which has since, and still continues to emit the radiant splendors of the sun of righteousness throughout the Canadian populace. After the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the American colonies was ratified, the army at Quebec was disbanded—many of the officers and soldiers returned to England and others proceeded into the Upper country, where they began to form settlements in diverse parts. Mr. Tuffey returned home ; but the most part, if not all, of his Methodist associates emigrated to this country ; where mingling with the general population, they soon became scattered abroad.

The tide of emigration from England and Ireland commencing the same year, [1783] bore along its current now and then, a few of the Methodists belonging to Mr. Wesley's connection, in those countries. Their number being quite inconsiderable compared with the multitudes that swarmed into these regions at that time, they consequently became insulated remote from each others residence, which rendered social intercourse, and the public means of grace, a subject of utter impracticability.

Having neither religious institutions or religious teachers, in the land the profligacy of its inhabitants in general, waxed more and more and those who had professed to follow a better course, growing cold and indifferent in their enjoyments, soon turned, most of them, to follow the world. Our Saviour's prediction indeed, seemed most strikingly fulfilled, that *Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall*

wax cold. It has likewise but recently been observed, by one of those first settlers, that, "For some years together it appeared, as though there were neither law nor religion in all the country."

The low ebb of the religion of the cross, even for some time after this, is obvious, from the conduct of some of the clergymen of the established Church, and the only religious teachers in the country, excepting Mr. Lyons and Mr. McCarty of whom we shall speak presently. A person who was a faithful advocate of experimental religion, and an opposer of carnal amusements and mirth, happening to meet with the clergyman of his vicinity, was abruptly accosted, with "You are a going to hell!" And how do you know that, was the reply. "Ah! I'm sure of it," vociferated the clergyman; "for you run out against dancing, card playing, horse racing, &c. and you'll go to hell for it." If such indeed was the principle and practice of their teachers in religion, what therefore must have been the general character of the people?

But notwithstanding the corrupted state and profligacy of the generality of the population, a few there were, *who bowed not the knee to the image of Baal*, and, who still maintained their character and dignity as christians, and as avowed votaries of the hallowed cross.

Being so long deprived of the preaching of the gospel and the social means of grace, they became exceedingly hungry for the word of life. But residing in a new settled country and subject to many hardships privations and toils, and separated withal from their mother country by the Atlantic, and from the population of the United States, by the Ontario, the St. Lawrence, and a vast and trackless wilderness, the hopes they entertained of spiritual assistance, were but small, not knowing which way to look, or where to apply for relief. But the God of the faithful, who is ever mindful of his people, and who delighteth not in the death of the ungodly, in commiseration to their forlorn condition, soon opened a door whereby they received a supply of their spiritual needs; and from which time and circumstance, arose that wide extended community which to this day continues to hold forth the golden sceptre to many thousands of the Canadian populace.

Some time in the year 1788 commenced the emigration from the United States to Canada; which consequently opened a communication

between the two countries. And in the latter part of that or the fore part of the following year, a young man—Mr. Lyons, who was an exhorter in the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, repaired to Canada and engaged in a school in the township of Adolphus town.

Possessing a deep desire for the salvation of his fellow-men, and sympathising the wretched state of those about him, he ventured forward in the name of his Divine Master, and calling the people together in various neighborhoods, zealously exhorted them to flee the wrath to come, and lay hold on eternal life through Jesus Christ.

While the attention of some was excited by novelty or curiosity to attend his meetings, the more serious and religious portion were co-operating with him by faith and prayer, for a revival of the work of God among the people. The verity of that Divine promise therefore was soon realized, "*that when Zion travails, she shall bring forth.*" A few profligate sinners were turned to the Lord, backsliders were reclaimed, and declining professors, were aroused to a diligent application to christian duty. The aspect of religious affairs was visibly changed, though no classes or societies were formed. Mr. Lyons may therefore be considered, as making the first introduction of Episcopal Methodism into Canada.

In course of the same year Mr. James McCarty repaired to Canada and settled in Ernestown. He was formerly from Ireland; but remaining sometime in the United States, and having frequent opportunities of hearing the celebrated Whitefield, when on his last mission to America, he became a convert to the Whitefieldian cause, and a zealous promoter of experimental religion. He made no pretention of any union with the Methodist connection, either in Europe or the United States; but professedly avowed himself one of Whitefield's followers. (*)

Soon after his arrival, he began to warn sinners to flee from the wrath to come, and to encourage such as had tasted the comforts of religion in former days. He preached Christ to the people of the various neighborhoods, who generally attended his meetings in large numbers.

(*) This narration we have from Mr. Robert Perry, sen'r. who was personally knowing to all the facts here recorded respecting Mr. McCarty.

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Being accustomed to the manners of the Church of England, he read his sermons, but with that deep feeling and engagedness, that they produced a happy and lasting effect on the minds of his hearers. Conversions were multiplied, which were succeeded by conversions; and numbers of methodists that were in the country before him, joining heart and hand with him in the work of the Lord, a jealousy was soon excited among those who were advocates for the lifeless forms of the Church of England. Fearing that Methodism might become established they soon raised a persecution against Mr. McCarty, in order to extinguish the flame of pure religion which had already began to spread. There were three individuals who ranked among the officials, and leading characters, that were by far the most active in that infamous and wicked scheme. Of these were the sheriff, Mr. L——, a militia Captain, Mr. C——, and the chief engineer. Mr. L——, the sheriff, often declared boldly, that *there should be no religious worship establisht, but that of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.* But yet the people would assemble in private houses, and Mr. McCarty true to his masters work would meet with them and preach. Greatly enraged at this, his enemies could fix on no other alternative for its abolition, than that of banishing Mr. McCarty to the United States.

An edict had been issued from the government, that all vagabond characters should be banished from the country. They therefore seized upon this advantage to effect the seclusion of Mr. McCarty with that groundless pretext.

As he was preaching one Sunday therefore, at the house of Mr. Robert Perry, senior, four men armed with muskets, came to apprehend him and to take him to the jail at Kingston. Being conscience smitten doubtless for their atrocious design upon the Sabbath day, they however left their arms at the house of Mr. Percy a short distance from the place of worship. Upon the bail of Mr. Perry, for Mr. McCarty's appearance at Kingston on the following day, the men left him and returned. On their arrival at Kingston the next day, Mr. P. presented Mr. McCarty to the Sheriff, and demanded his bond given the day before. But the sheriff refused absolutely to take any charge concerning him. They therefore bid him good bye, and retired. The enemies of Mr. McCarty however, rallied the same day and thrus

him into prison ; but he was again liberated by Mr. Perry's bail.— When the time had expired for which he had been bailed, he, with Mr. Perry repaired again to Kingston to receive his destiny ; where, by the orders of the chief engineer, he was put on board of a boat managed by four French men, who were directed to leave him on a desolate island in the St. Lawrence. This they attempted to do, but thro' Mr. McCarty's resistance, they were induced to land him on the main shore, from whence he returned home to his family and friends.

Prior to this however, he had procured the friendship of Sir John Johnson, who had furnished him with money for the purpose of entering into prosecution against his persecutors. An Attorney at Montreal, likewise warranted him a successful process, and offered his assistance in carrying on the suit. But while on his way to Montreal, or on his return, (it is not ascertained which,) he was strangely and suddenly missing and has never been heard of since. It seems improbable, also, that he should have repaired to the United States, from the circumstance that he had a wife and four children whom he dearly loved, and who have never heard of him to this day. The place where he was last seen was at the Long Sault ; but what ever befel him or from what cause he disappeared, is left a subject of conjecture until the great day, wherein the *secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, and all the hidden things of dishonesty, brought to light.*

The singular phenomena which eventually followed this affair, seems to denote, that an overruling and interposing providence was invisibly connected with the whole transaction from first to last. On the one hand we see the preaching of Mr. McCarty, rendered effective in arousing the attention of the people to the subject of pure religion, and preparing the way for the establishment of a durable and evangelical Church : As also, the violence and malice of his persecutors, which, instead of answering their design, only served to develop the iniquity of their cause, and to confirm the public mind in favor of Mr. McCarty, and the course he pursued. At the time of his commitment to prison, indeed, Mr. Perry said to Mr. L. the Sheriff, " You may kill McCarty, but a hundred more will rise at his burial, whom you nor your party cannot kill." How fully indeed, has this been exemplified, and how striking its eventful scenes, which crowd around us even to the present day.

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On the other hand we see the persecutors of the cause of Christ, coming to naught, and overthrown by a frowning providence : Captain C—— who was most active in Mr. McCarty's persecution, afterwards wrote a confession of his crime, stating that he had wrongfully, and wickedly persecuted an innocent man, and requested Mr. Perry to present the confession to the judge ; who replied in the language of the chief priests, upon the confession of Judas after betraying our Lord : "That it was a concern of his own, and he alone must see to it."— Captain C—— afterwards fell into a state of insanity, which continued many years and finally closed with his death.

The engineer who ordered McCarty to be left on the desolate isle, closed his career in eight or ten days afterwards ; and Mr. L—— also died suddenly in the course of two or three weeks.

The work of religion which had now commenced, proved not to be of man, but of God. The enemies of the cross could not therefore bring it to an end ; and the Great Head of the church, no doubt, designed the spiritual welfare of this present community as well as that of generations yet to come, even by the efficiency of those few, and feeble means.

Near two years had elapsed after the arrival of Mr. Lyons before any further measures were adopted for acquiring a competent and official supply of spiritual aid. Roused at length more deeply to deplore the destitute condition o' their countryman, they resolved on a plan for procuring the desired end. For this purpose they despatched a message to the conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church which held its session in the city of New York, in October 1790. Taking the case into consideration, the conference condescended to lend their assistance in supplying their spiritual wants. The Rev. William Losee who had been received on trial the preceding year, was therefore despatched as a missionary to labor among this anxious people.

The arrival (*) of Mr. Losee was attended with much rejoicing

(*) It has been contended that Mr. Losee arrived in 1789, and tarried two successive years before he returned. But this must be a mistake : since according to credible testimony, from persons who knew him at the time, he had not embraced religion in the summer of 1788 ; and in 1789, the following year, he appears on the minutes stationed on the Lake Champlain circuit. He was also appointed to Kingston circuit, New England, in 1791. Hence it follows, that 1790 must have been the time, and the only time he was in Canada until he came in 1792 with Mr. Dunham.

among the votaries of the cross, and an animating prelude of Zion's prosperity, soon roused their devotions and strengthened their faith to look for a wide spreading revival of the work of God.

Naturally possessing the spirit of a Boanerges in an eminent degree, together with a heart renewed by grace, and warmed with the love of God, which form the most essential qualifications of a gospel minister, Mr. Losee entered upon his charge in the name of the Lord, and labored most indefatigably for the good of perishing souls. Plain and familiar in his style, (though often very abrupt) he portrayed the consequences of an ungodly life, and so vehemently urged the necessity of repentance, as the only medium to happiness and peace, that many were induced to desert the cause of sin, and seek protection in the mercy of God.

Proceeding into various neighborhoods and unfolding to view the excellencies of the gospel of Christ, a happy revival ensued, and the general attention of the inhabitants became awake to the glorious events which were daily passing among them. For the better and more judicious arrangement of the work, he reduced the whole into a kind of circuit, which he persued during the year. Numbers having espoused the Redeemer's cause in various parts, Mr. Losee proceeded likewise to form into classes those that were desirous of becoming attached to the Methodist Episcopal Church. A number of respectable societies were therefore organized under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopacy. And from this time, the standard of Methodism may be considered as firmly established in the Canadian climes.

The circuit thus formed, extended from Kingston along the Bay Quinte, to the uppermost settlements thereof, so as to embrace mostly the townships of Earnestown, Fredricksburgh, and Adolphustown. This it seems was the first settled and most populous part, and here indeed, was the golden sceptre of the gospel of peace, first held forth to the inhabitants of this wilderness country. Private dwellings were for sometime their only places of public worship; and these at length were rendered by far too contracted to contain the growing congregations. The cry therefore became general, that, "the place is too strait for us, and we can not abide it." The erecting of tabernacles unto the Lord, was therefore taken into account; and ere Mr. Losee's depar-

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are arrived, a number of commodious chapels were so far advanced,
as to accommodate their worshipping assemblies in a comfortable man-
ner. Some of these indeed are still in existence ; having undergone
however, some considerable re-modling and many repairs.

Here then we behold an infant church, rising like a vapor from the
sea, and spreading forth its borders till it overshadows the land. And
how wonderfully is our admiration inspired, on retrospecting those
succeeding events introductory to its rise, and so efficient in its subse-
quent prosperity. Indeed, "it is the Lord's doing, and it is marve-
lous in our eyes."

CHAPTER II.

*The progress of Methodism in Canada until the separation and or-
ganization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

Having briefly noticed the introduction and establishment of Metho-
dism in Canada under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal
Church, we may now proceed to a detail of some of the most interest-
ing occurrences in its subsequent history.

The eye of the American conference, it appears, was fixed upon the
affairs of the church in the province of Canada ; who retained the deter-
mination of cherishing this branch of Zion, and affording it all the spir-
itual aid that should be required.

Although nearly two hundred had united under the pastoral charge
of Mr. Losee, yet, his being an unordained minister, they were
neither favored with the ordinance of the Lord's supper, nor that of
baptism for themselves and their children. To supply this deficiency
therefore, as well as to extend their field of labor so as to keep pace
with the emigration, was a subject that called forth the attention of the
American conference. The Rev. Darius Dunham was therefore ap-
pointed in conjunction with Mr. Losee, to proceed to Canada and la-
bor for the salvation of souls in his part of the church. It was in the
year 1792, that they entered upon their charge—Mr. Dunham repair-
ing to the pastoral care of the flock in the Cataraqui circuit, which Mr.
Losee had travelled two years before, and Mr. Losee proceeding
down the St. Lawrence, formed another circuit which was called the
Oswegotchie.

The bounds of the former circuit, Mr. Dunham extended somewhat
farther than Mr. Losee had done before. The chapels which were

left in an unfinished state, were rendered more commodious for the congregations, and a steady, and progressive revival of the work of God, proved the happy result of his gospel labors.

Mr. Dunham being an elder, the people were now favored with those appendages to the ordinary means of grace, of which they had long been deprived. Nor was it in his circuit, alone, that he exercised the functions of his office, but, being appointed after the expiration of the first two years, as Presiding Elder of the whole work, the people in each circuit were blessed with the sacred ordinances.

The Lower circuit or Oswegotchie, was less prosperous this first year than the Cataraqui, returning only ninety souls. An effectual door was however opened, for its greater prosperity in succeeding years. Nor is it unfrequently the case, that the most unpromising aspects in the first commencement of a religious cause serve as a kind of prelude, to far more glorious and important events.

In course of a few years the names of these circuits were variously changed. But that called Cataraqui eventually took the name of Bay Quinte, which it has ever since retained. The whole territory however, embraced under the spiritual charge of the Methodist preachers consisting of two grand divisions, it was sometimes published in the minutes of conference, by the name of "the Upper circuit, and Lower circuit." This whole territory extending from near the head of the Bay of Quinte, to the lower boundary of the Upper Province; bordering on the Ontario, and the St. Lawrence river, and embracing the interior country as far as settlements had been formed, comprised all the territory under the spiritual direction of the Methodists until 1778, at which time Mr. Dunham proceeded to the Niagara country, where he formed and travelled a circuit partaking of the same name.

As the population of the country continued to increase, new openings appeared for the introduction and success of the gospel ministry; and as a more competent supply of the wants of the people, the Rev. James Coleman and Elijah Woolsey were appointed by the New-York conference, in 1794, to repair to the assistance of Mr. Dunham, in conducting the spiritual concerns of this thriving branch of the christian church. Their labors it appears were eminently blessed by the Head of the church and a copious increase of souls crowned their returns at the close of the year.

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In 1795 the Rev. Sylvanus Keeler arrived in Canada, and travelled the Bay Quinte circuit with the Rev. E. Woolsey, while Mr. Dunham was traversing forests about the Niagara, proclaiming life and salvation to the people of those parts.

At this time the societies had increased to 474: the Bay Quinte circuit numbering 270 the Oswegotchie 140, and the Niagara 64. This, indeed, was the fruit of only about four years' labor among that scattered population! Nor was it other than a mere introduction to the far greater prosperity of succeeding years: The next ensuing, indeed aspired to the amount of 792! making an augmentation of 218 souls. The Niagara alone numbered 140.

From this time until the year 1800 the march of these circuits, might the better compare with the gliding stream, rising by moderate degrees, than with the impetuosity of the torrent hurried onward by an overswelling abundance of its watery element. Gradual and progressive in its course, and surmounting every barrier as it approached in view, increasing additions to the communion of the church, crowned the endeavours of each succeeding year.

It would doubtless impart a satisfaction to many, were a notice of those itinerant preachers who have repaired to these climes, brought in this account as we pass along.

It was in the year 1796, that the friends of Zion, in the Bay Quinte circuit, were first favoured with ministry of that admirable young man, and eminent christian, the Rev. S. Coate. Although a youth at that time, and having been but two years in the itinerant work, he was an able minister of the New Testament, and his celebrity, eventually became surprisingly great. For three successive years, he tarried among his Canadian friends, holding forth the excellences of the gospel of Christ with great zeal, universal acceptance, and glorious success.

No less a shining light or an example of holy emulation, however, was his contemporary the Rev. Hezekiah C. Wooster. This holy man was appointed to the Oswegotchee, where he labored with great zeal and usefulness, enduring many fatigues, reproaches and persecutions, and where, by excessive toiling for the recovery of lost souls, he laid the foundation of that disorder which terminated his useful life.

He remained in the country till 1798, a part of which time he was in the Bay Quinte circuit, and a part of which, also, he was confined and wasting away with the consumption.

In June 1798, he returned to his father's house, where he terminated his course, on the 6 of November following, filled with love, and an unshaken confidence of entering into eternal joys. To devout minds, how profitably pleasing the contemplation, of the triumphant exit of the departing saint! *The righteous, says the wise man, hath hope in his death!*

But to return: The Rev. Michael Coats repaired to Canada in 1798, and the Rev. Joseph Jewell in 1799. The former tarried but one year; but the latter who received the charge of Presiding Elder of the district, continued in that office until the year 1803; when he was succeeded by the Rev. John Robinson, and retired to the United States.

Prior to 1800, four preachers were the most that had been employed, in the three existing circuits, which had afforded a competent supply. But this year seems to have formed an era in the history of Canadian Methodism: The population of the country had so far advanced as to admit the formation of an additional circuit, as also, to require more laborers in those that had been of some years standing. The Rev. Daniel Pickett proceeded to the settlements, upon the borders of the Grand River, where his labors proved somewhat successful, in gathering souls to the communion of the church. The Rev. William Anson repaired to the Bay Quinte circuit with the Rev. S. Keeler, Rev. James Herron to the Oswegotchie, accompanied with the presiding elder of the district, and the Rev. Joseph Sawyer entered in charge upon the Niagara.

Six preachers were now moving round in these circuits, who were ardently striving to build up the Redeemer's Kingdom.

The appendages to the former territory occupied by the itinerant ministry, formed but one part of the advantages, which at this time seemed gathering around this thriving community. The public mind indeed was yielding to her institutions, and her sublime doctrines were becoming more and more established and understood, among those who professed no attachment to the cause.

Revivals progressing in divers places, were likewise gathering into the arms of the church, large numbers of worthy members, which served in an adequate proportion, to build up and strengthen her spiritual walls.

At this period, the state of Methodism throughout the Province of Upper-Canada, stood as follows :

Niagara Circuit	-	-	-	-	320
Bay Quinte	-	-	-	-	464
Oswegotchie	-	-	-	-	330
Ottawha (alias Grand River)	-	-	-	-	45

Total 1,150

We have thus far seen in an epitomized view a christian community rising from the most inconsiderable events to become as it were, a far famed city elevated on an eminence where the world cannot but behold its grandeur and transcendent excellencies.

The lapse of ten years indeed has thus spread these apostolic doctrines and institutions throughout the Canadian populace. What hath God wrought by the weakness of human instruments!

Assuming an aspect far more auspicious than any previous year, the interests of the cause began to elicit a recruit of gospel laborers, and the vigilant industry of its friends and votaries. And from this period until the year 1812, each succeeding year, like the returning wave, wafted the cause of Zion onward in a manner which exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. The following year, however, made no acquisitions in point of numbers, but, "as behind a frowning providence, is sometimes concealed a smiling face," which emits the brighter splendors when the cloud is passed, so, when the transient gloom was o'erspreading the church, numberless blessings were gathering around to break in all her borders. The growing prosperity indeed was such that the returns of the ensuing year exhibited an amount of 1,600 souls.

It was in the year 1801, that Messrs. Samuel Draper, Seth Crowell, James Aikens, John Robinson, and Caleb Morris were appointed by the New York Conference to labor in the Canada District. And in 1802, the Rev. Thomas Madden repaired to the Long Point circuit,

which was now distinct from the Niagara, and which numbered the fifth circuit in the Canada District.

Besides Mr. Madden, were likewise three others, who had not previously travelled in the province of Canada, which were, Messrs. Peter Vannest, Nathan Bangs, and Nehemiah U. Tompkins.

The following year, 1803, the number of circuits was reduced to four; which were supplied with eight preachers and the Presiding Elder of the district. Four of those in the former year had retired, and the vacancies of three of whom, were supplied by the appointment of Samuel How, Reuben Harris, and Luther Bishop. A moderate increase was witnessed in some of the circuits, though the growth of Methodism in this year, would in nowise compare with that in some years subsequent to that period.

In 1804 but one new preacher was appointed to labor in Canada, which was the Rev. Martin Ruter, who received his station at Montreal. Until this time the Methodists had extended their borders no farther down the St. Lawrence than the lower boundaries of the Oswegotchie circuit.

But not satisfied with a confinement to the precincts of one Province, so long as a probability existed of their winning souls to the church of Christ in other parts, they received the stations of Montreal, and River Le French, into the field of itinerancy, and to which latter station was appointed the Rev. Nathan Bangs. Meeting with little encouragement, after toiling for a year at these stations, the preachers repaired to a more fruitful soil, and abandoned them from their account till 1806. At this time they were re-assumed with an appendage of the Ottawa circuit, which together were constituted a Presiding Elder's district, and superintended by the Rev. Samuel Coate. From this time to 1812 Upper and Lower Canada consisted of two separate districts, and were both embraced within the precincts of the New York Conference, until the organization of the Genesee, which transpired in 1810. The district in the Upper Province, was included therefore in the last mentioned conference, and that in the Lower Province in the former. The city of Quebec having been attached in 1806, the Three Rivers in 1808, and St. Francis in 1810, the aspect would at first sight appear somewhat promising, to the success of those missionaries, who were toiling

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for the prosperity of religion in those several stations. But, notwithstanding the constant efforts for some years, even of those who were renowned for their piety and zeal, as well as splendid abilities, a darkening cloud seemed to hang about them, and their final success proved quite inconsiderable when compared with the population and the rapidity with which the work has progressed in other parts. After a succession of six years labor to establish Methodism and raise up a people in those places, 57 souls were the greatest number at any one station. The whole number of Methodists in the Lower Province was 295 including those in the Ottawa which consisted of 97.

Nineteen years after the planting of Methodism in this country, a pleasing spectacle, indeed, is present to the mind: all that stretch of country bordering on the St. Lawrence and the lakes, Ontario and Erie, from the capital of British America to the city of Detroit, is encircled in the arms of this flourishing branch of the christian church.

The Rev. William Case having made a missionary excursion to the latter place in the year 1809, met with a cheering prospect, for the reception of the gospel, and a revival of the work of God among the destitute population. Having reared the standard of the cross, and held forth the sceptre of mercy to such as were perishing without hope, an encouraging number cast in their lots and decidedly espoused the christian cause. Meanwhile the work was rising in various other sections, in a degree which augmented the number of christian communicants to 3,495. The mission at Detroit likewise, in the following year had so far prospered as to require an additional laborer, and to admit of the formation of a four weeks circuit, which was accordingly done, and supplied by the Rev. N. Holmes, and Rev. Silas Hopkins. By this time the societies had arrived to 130 in number. The wilderness indeed was blossoming like the rose.

In consequence of the war between the United States and Great Britain, which commenced in 1812, religion in these Provinces suffered considerable loss, which was not regained till some time after the return of peace. The Genesee conference, to which the Upper and Lower Canada districts were joined, held its session at Niagara, July 23, 1812. According to former practice, a supply of preachers was appointed to the circuits in the Canada districts, and some of whom re-

paired to their stations, wholly foreign from any view of being molested by the clamor of war. It was not long however, before the declaration of war was published and the intelligence flying in every direction. Alarmed at this unwelcome news, those preachers who had not repaired to their appointments, abandoned the design, and bent their attention to other pursuits, in some secure retreat in the United States ; and who, at the next session of the conference, received appointments, to continue their itinerant course in their native land. But one who proceeded to his station returned back. A number, who remained in the Upper Province during the session of the conference, with others, who had reached their stations and, resolved to remain during the war, entered on their ministerial labors, which they pursued until the ratification of peace in 1815 ; when, the communication betwixt the governments being disclosed, they were at their liberty to pass and repass at pleasure. The best endeavors it appears were employed, for sustaining the spirit of religion in its usual elevation, and for extending their operation as far as the practicability of the times would allow.

The Rev. Henry Ryan, who held the station of Presiding Elder, prior to the commencement of the war, had now become the sole director of this part of the work. He therefore travelled through the district, discharging the functions of his office during each conference year, and, at the expiration of which called the preachers together to consult the matters of the church ; and whom he exchanged or re-appointed, as the best expedience and demands of the work required.

The dismal aspect which the work assumed, during this season of agitation and alarm, proved exceedingly distressing to the faithful adherents of the cross, both among the ministry and laity of the church. According to the ordinary course of events, results other than a cessation, and diminution of the work of God, can hardly be anticipated. The case indeed, of the spread of religion in the English army by the labors of John Haime, is one, but rarely to be found. Nor is it much less surprising that in a country thinly scattered in its population, so narrowly situate, and bordering withal in its whole extent on the opposing government, that the church of Christ should retain in any tol-

view of being molested. ver, before the de- e flying in every di- e preachers who had e design, and bent etreat in the United erence, received ap- eir native land. But a number, who remain- the conference, with ed to remain during h they pursued until munication betwixt the liberty to pass and ears were employed, evation, and for ex- y of the times would

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erable measure its former acquirements, amidst the conflicting scenes of horror, tumult and war. This much indeed, was retained in some parts, and among many private individuals, scattered in divers sections of the work. Upon the whole, however, as before remarked, a considerable loss was felt, both in point of numbers and the internal enjoyment of the church. While occupying a probation, closely connected with the changing scenes of the world, the state of religion in general among men, will more or less be influenced by the variegated circumstances in which they are placed.

The war being over, and the mild calm of peace restored, it was hailed with a hearty welcome by the friends of languishing Zion. And, as at the approach of spring, after the dreary winter is past, the musical birds return with the songs of thanksgiving and praise, so the triumphant and exhilarating sounds of Zion's songs were soon breaking forth in all her borders.

As vice however, holds a much greater sway than virtue, among men, the prevalence thereof, during the three years of the war, had so impaired the church of Christ, that its former attainments were scarce regained in the four ensuing years.

A new supply of laborers being appointed to this part of the work, the spirit of religion began to revive and the progression of the Redeemer's cause rolled onward in a manner unprecedented in this part of Zion.

As in the literal world, an excessive nightly gloom, is often succeeded by the break of approaching day, so, likewise, the spiritual day of grace had now dawned upon this part of the vineyard of the Lord; and the sun of righteousness was emitting a salutary influence through all its bounds. The return of the shepherds with the increase of their flocks was a clear indication that the Lord was with his people.

The number of souls in communion with the church in the year 1820, had approached to 5,526: exceeding considerably that of any previous year.

It was prior to this period, that the English conference had sent a number of Missionaries into this country: who dispersing through the population and making their stands in the most conspicuous parts,

their assumptions were not well relished by most of the ministers and people of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The authority exercised by some of the missionaries was considered as a gross infringement upon their legitimate privileges as a long standing church, and one which had grown up with the rising of the country.

The missionaries not willing to adhere to the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the preachers and people of that church equally as unwilling to render subjection to them, the spirit of opposition and jealousy began to work, and a fatal catastrophe, loudly threatened the cause of Methodism in the Canadas.

Petitions being circulated, and signatures obtained in many of the Quarterly meeting conferences, a request was made to the British Conference for the missionaries to be recalled. But, viewing it their prerogative to occupy any part of the British dominions, the petitions were not regarded, and the missionaries still adhered to their posts. The General Conference which sat in Baltimore in 1820, therefore, took the matter into consideration, and devised a plan for effecting the desired end: this was, to dispatch a delegate to the ensuing English conference, empowered to negotiate the question on amicable terms.

The Rev. John Emory was chosen for that purpose. He repaired to England, where he met a favorable reception, and the subject was decided in a satisfactory manner. It was agreed that the missionaries should leave the Upper Province wholly to the Episcopal Methodists, and the latter should wholly relinquish the Lower Province to the occupancy of the former.

The American Methodist preachers were therefore soon recalled from Lower-Canada, and confined to the Upper Province. The requisition was also acceded to on the part of the English connection with the exception of one.

In the year 1824, the work had so far prospered, as to render expedient, the organization of this branch of Methodism into a separate conference. This was done at the general conference which sat in the city of Pittsburgh, Pa. in that same year.

At this time indeed, it may be said, that a new era was formed in

the annals of Canadian Methodism. The number included in this conference at its organization, was 6,150, and 36 itinerant preachers. It ought to be borne in mind that this number does by no means compose the whole product of American Methodism in Canada, a considerable amount being consigned in the year 1820, to the charge of the English Methodist connection.

It was about this time that some serious difficulties were breeding, which eventually resulted in the schism afterwards denominated "CANADIAN WESLYAN METHODISTS."

The Rev. Henry Ryan, of whom we have spoken, and, who had for many years been a zealous and acceptable minister in the itinerant connection both in Canada and the United States, was brought under censure at the conference of 1824, for some things which were considered as improprieties in a minister of Jesus Christ. After adjusting the matter, Mr. Ryan was acquitted and appointed to a mission among the back settlements, upon the Grand River. The feelings both of Mr. Ryan and some other members of the conference however, having been exceedingly chafed were not so easily healed; even from this time to the conference at which Mr. Ryan took his final departure from the church, contentions and broils were carried to an unwarrantable pitch, and, at every subsequent session of the conference, the most disagreeable difficulties were introduced, arising indirectly from the same cause. The greater the exertions for their suppression the more, apparently the fire of opposition raged. In justification of the conduct of Mr. Ryan, and in vindication of his character against what were termed by his friends, the defamatory charges of the conference, pamphlets and handbills were published and flying through every direction of the church. Divers conventions were called, composed of delegates from the societies in different parts, which were thronged with spectators and which continued for some days together.

At the conference of 1827, after a long and painful discussion, the subject was finally dismissed by a resolution of the conference, and Mr. Ryan restored. By this resolution however, it was afterwards discovered that they had unauthorized themselves to re-sume the subject, however egregious the conduct of Mr. Ryan might subsequently prove.

The rescinding of that vote was therefore proposed on the ensuing

day, for the purpose of placing Mr. Ryan on an equal footing with the other members of the conference. Exasperated however at this, Mr. Ryan arose and declared himself *withdrawn from the church*. Numbers of the society possessing a predilection in his favor, with others who had been previously expelled, united together and organized themselves into an independent church.

The most prominent subject of their protestation, was that of Methodist Episcopacy; in support of which a letter from Mr. Wesley to Bishop Asbury is introduced in their discipline.

For an illustration of this letter, see pages 350, 351, 352, and 353.

CHAPTER III.

Separation of the Canada Conference, and its organization into an Independent Church

The subject of separating from the body of Methodists in the United States, had for some years previous to 1828 agitated the minds of both preachers and people. For a considerable time however, some were for remaining still in connection with them; but the point was at length brought to a crisis, and application was made to the General Conference of 1828, for a mutual separation from that church, which request was acceded by that body. At the session of the annual conference held in Ernestown, the same year, the subject was taken up and the following preamble and resolution were adopted.

“Whereas the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, has heretofore extended over the ministers and people in connection with said Church, in the Province of Upper Canada, by mutual agreement, and by consent of our brethren in this Province, and whereas, it has been and is the general wish of the ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, to be organized into a separate and independent body, in friendly relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and whereas the general conference has been pleased to comply with our wish in this respect, and has authorized any one or more, of the General Superintendents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, with the assistance of any two or more Elders, to ordain a General Superintendent for the said church, in Upper Canada, (whenever such Superintendent shall have been elected by this Cana-

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Conference,) be it therefore resolved, that it is expedient, and ne-
cessary, and that the Canada conference of the Methodist Church, do
now organize itself into an *independent* Methodist Episcopal Church.
in Upper Canada, with a General Superintendent, to be known by
the name of the '*Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada.*'"

This separation was so complete, that the Bishop from the United
States who had presided in the conference previous to the passing of
that resolution, arose, and declared that he had no longer any jurisdic-
tion over them, and that they must elect a president before they could
proceed to farther business. The Rev. William Case was then elect-
General Superintendent, pro-tem.

The number of Preachers in the itinerant connection at this
time, was 50, who were the following: Thomas Whitehead, William
Case, John Ryerson, William Ryerson, George Ryerson, Egerton Ry-
erson, Philander Smith, James Wilson, Wyat Chamberlain, Peter
Jones, 1, James Jackson, William Brown, James Richardson, George
Sovereign, Daniel M' Mullen, Samuel Belton, Anson Green, William
Griffis, Joseph Gatchell, Richard Phelps, Joseph Messmore, Rowley
Heyland, George Bissel, George Ferguson, David Wright, Robert
Curson, James Norris, Franklin Metcalf, David Youmans, John S.
Atwood, Ezra Healy, John C. Davidson, Thomas Madden, William
H. Williams, Jacob Pool, Solomon Waldron, John H. H. Hustin, John
Black, William Smith, Ephraim Evans, John Beatty, Hamilton Big-
gar, Charles Wood, Alva Adams, Asahel Hurlburt, Richard Jones,
George Pool, Cyrus R. Allison, Mathew Whiting, Peter Jones 2.

There were three Districts, which were the Niagara, Bay Quinte
and Augusta.

The circuits, stations and missions, were 36, members 9,678.

The following year, 1829, another District called the Rideau, was
adjoined to the above number, which contained four circuits and one
mission. The whole number in society had increased to 10,231,
notwithstanding the occasional dissensions on account of the Ryan
schism. God truly stood by his faithful ministers and people, in these
times of affliction and trial.

In 1830, the Lord favored Zion in an unusual manner. An ex-
tract from the Pastoral address, of that year will afford a summary
account of the general prosperity of the cause.

“God who has given to us *peace* in all our borders, hath favoured us with abundant prosperity. There appears to have been a very general revival of personal and family religion, in our societies during the year. 1,817 have been added to the church—a much larger increase than we have ever enjoyed before in so short a time. Our Missions are prospering, and the converted Indians have been steadily increasing in christian knowledge, and in pious and exemplary habits. A religious periodical under the direction of the conference has been established and widely circulated, and which brings to you from week to week the glad news of “Zion’s triumph and Zion’s prosperity, which as well as warnings, encouragements, and instructions have doubtless cheered and strengthened the hearts of many.” The weekly periodical referred to in the above address, is the *Christian Guardian*, an interesting journal which still continues its issue at York.

In 1820, measures were adopted by the Methodist conference for extending the gospel to the native tribes of Upper Canada. Among the first fruits of missionary labors, therefore, was a chief in the Chippewa nation by the name of Peter Jones. Being brought to witness the benefits of religion to his own soul, he felt moved with compassion for his fellow countrymen, and united his efforts with those of the missionaries in propagating the gospel among the various tribes of his people. The most pleasing aspects soon assumed their cause, and large numbers were eventually brought to the communion of the Church. Until the present period indeed the work of religion has constantly progressed among them.

To this benighted people indeed, seems swiftly hastening on the fulfilment of that prophetic and cheering promise, that, *To his Servants the Lord will give the heathen for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession.*

Most of the tribes of Indians which have been christianized, are now located in villages and settlements, which have been principally prepared for them by the Colonial Government, in all of which places School Houses are erected, and Literary and Religious instruction, are regularly imparted through the instrumentality of Missionaries and Teachers employed and supported by this Society.

For further accounts the reader is referred to the *Missionary Report* of the M. E. Church, as our limits will not admit of further detail.

The state of Methodism in 1830 was as follows:

Number of Members in Society.

<i>Stations and Circuits.</i>	<i>White.</i>	<i>Col'd.</i>	<i>Indians.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Port George } Ct 216	0	0	0	216
Stamford }	456	2	0	458
Niagara.....	493	2	0	495
Wheatster.....	195	0	0	195
Quinties.....	373	0	0	373
Long Point.....	280	0	0	280
London.....	278	0	0	278
Westminster.....	228	0	0	228
River Thames.....	139	0	11	150
Amherstburgh.....	4	0	170	174
Grand River Mission.....	2	0	70	72
Quincy Mission.....	680	6	0	686
Quinte.....	444	0	67	511
Belleville.....	709	0	0	709
Howell.....	5	0	120	125
Island Mission.....	519	0	0	519
Albion.....	324	0	0	324
Whitby.....	3	0	175	178
Ice Lake including Schoogog } and Mud Lakes }	132	0	0	132
Baran.....	510	1	0	511
George Street.....	108	0	0	108
Simcoe Majadushk & Saugee } Mission.....	2	0	400	402
.....	173	0	0	176
.....	530	0	0	530
.....	4	0	140	144
.....	657	3	0	660
.....	668	0	0	668
.....	474	0	0	474
.....	289	0	0	289
.....	283	0	0	283
.....	243	1	0	244
.....	148	0	0	148
.....	115	0	0	115
.....	368	0	0	368
.....	125	0	0	125
Total this year,	10180	15	1153	11348
Last year,	9156	23	1052	10231
Increase,	1024	(d. 8)	101	1117
Travelling preachers last year, 53.				
This year, - - - 62.—Increase 9.				

Travelling preachers last year, 53.

This year, - - - 62.—Increase 9.

APPENDIX.

A Chronological List of all the Itinerant Preachers in the American Methodist connection, from the first Conference held in 1773 to the year 1826, shewing the time in which they entered, and that in which any have died, withdrawn, or were expelled.

NOTE.—Those with this (*) mark, were in connection with Mr. Wesley before the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Entered	A	Entered	A
	Askin John*	1816	Ayre Philip
	Adams Philip*		Anderson Nathan
	Alfrey Lewis*		Asbury Thomas
	Adams William*	1807	Arrington Joel—Died, 1816
	Asbury Francis*—Died, 1816	1808	Arthur James M.
	Allen Beverly*—Expel'd, 1792		Andrews Thomas
	Abel Jeremiah*		Andrews T. P.
	Anderson Thomas*		Anderson John
	Abbot David*		Arnold Wm.
	Ayres Robert*	1809	Andrew Moses
1780	Anderson Lemuel		Armestead Robt. A.
1783	Asbury Daniel,—Died 1826		Ashton Daniel
1788	Allen Joshua		Armstrong Hugh
1789	Andrew John—Died, 1793		Arnold Robt.
	Askew Josiah		Anderson Lewis
	Abbot Benjamin—Died 1796	1810	Ashcraft Nathan
	Andrew Wyatt	1811	Avant James
1790	Arnold Hezekiah		Adams John T.
	Aldredge Fudus		Atwell John
1791	Anesley Samuel	1812	Adams John
	Askin George		Andrews John Junr.
	Ahair John—Died, 1795	1813	Adam John
1793	Acuff Francis—Died, 1796		Ady Boaz
	Abbott David		Andrew James
1797	Atwood William		Allen William
1799	Andrews Abraham—Died, 1801	1814	Amadon Moses
	Avant William		Adams Zenas
	Atgood William		Anderson Payton—Died, 1822
1800	Arnold Smith	1815	Adams William
	Anson William		Arnold John
1801	Askin George—Died, 1816	1816	Avis James—Died, 1824
	Annis James	1817	Ashley William
	Andrus Luman		Allison William
	Aikens James—Died, 1823		Aylsworth Reuben A.
	Allen Thomas		Ames Isaac
1802	Aydelott Joseph—Died, 1824		Anderson Robt.
	Aydelott Jos.		Alverson John B.
	Adams Thomas		Adams Ezra
1804	Alexander Archd.	1818	Atkins George
	Amos Abraham		Ayer John S.
1805	Axley James	1819	Adams Samuel
	Arendell William		Adams David
1806	Ashworth Moses		Alley Henry
1816	Arendell Broges		Armstrong Richard

preachers in the American
Conference held in 1773,
which they entered, and
or were expelled.

Connection with Mr. Wesley's
Church.

A
Philip
erson Nathan
ry Thomas
gton Joel—Died, 1816
ir James M.
ews Thomas
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erson John
old Wm.
rew Moses
estead Robt. A.
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strong Hugh
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erson Lewis
craft Nathan
nt James
ms John T.
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m John
Boaz
rew James
en William
adon Moses
ms Zenas
erson Payton—Died, 1822
ms William
old John
s James—Died, 1824
ley William
son William
sworth Reuben A.
es Isaac
erson Robt.
erson John B.
ms Ezra
ms George
r John S.
ms Samuel
ms David
y Henry
strong Richard

Entered	B
1819	Allen William
	Ayer Benjamin
	Agard Horaco
	Adgate Chester V.
1820	Avis James—Died, 1825
	Adams Robert
	Alemony John
	Andrew John F.
1821	Allen Luke C.
	Abel Asa
1822	Atterberry Thomas
	Armstrong James
	Ayres James B.
	Atkins Samuel G.—Died, 1826
	Allen Joseph
	Avery Ephraim K.
	Allen Eli
	Atwood Joseph
	Aylworth James P.
	Akers Peter
1823	Allen James W.
	Askew Elisha
	Abbott Simon B.
1824	Ashley Benj. S.
	Abernathy Thomas S.
	Alexander Wm.
	Anderson Philip
	Andrews Elisha
1825	Atherton William
	Askins William
	Anderson Daniel
	Atwood Anthony
	Allen Eli W. R.
1826	Ashby Benjamin
	Atkinson Irvin
	Amis John L.
	Allen Job
	Ayre Rishworth J.
	Atwell James
	B
	Beck John*
	Bailey Edward*
	Baldwin John*
	Baxter John*
	Boyer Caleb*
	Bruce Philip*
1826	Bingham Henry—Died, 1789
	Brush Jacob—Died, 1796
	Black William
1826	Burns Terence
1827	Bradbury William
1828	Burdge Michael—Expell'd 1819
	Barnes Benjamin
	Birchitt Henry—Died, 1794

Entered	B
1788	Bloodgood John
1788	Baird Doiley
1789	Bird Jonathan
1789	Baker John
	Bowen Thomas
	Brooks Stephen
	Brown Benjamin
	Benson Joseph
	Banning Anthony
	Bonsall Robert
1790	Bancker John
	Burgoon Charles—Died, 1801
	Bell James—Expelled 1793
	Blanton Benjamin
	Ball John
	Boyd Thomas—Died, 1795
	Bell Thomas
	Bailey Gamaliel
1791	Browning George
	Belkamy William
	Buston John
	Browning Lewis
	Bostwick Shadrach
	Beard John
	Boyd James
1792	Bird Richard
	Breeze Samuel
	Bishop William
1793	Bunn Seely
	Bartim David
1794	Beaucamp Wm.—Died, 1824
	Ball William
	Burke William—Expelled 1821
	Bradhead John
	Brown David—Died, 1804
	Back David
1795	Bonham Robert
	Brunly Daniel
	Ballard Jeremiah
	Bateman Jonathan
	Bownewell Charles
1796	Brittain William
1796	Black Moses—Died, 1810
	Budd Wesley
	Benton Roger
1797	Baker John
1798	Bachelor Elijah
	Bishop Freeman
1799	Bidlack Benjamin
1800	Burdine Ezekiel
	Blackman Learner—Died, 1816
	Baker Joseph
1800	Branch Thomas—Died, 1820
1801	Burrough Banks M.



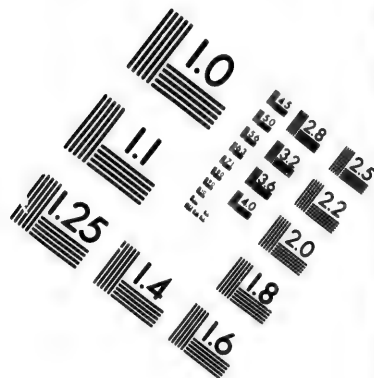
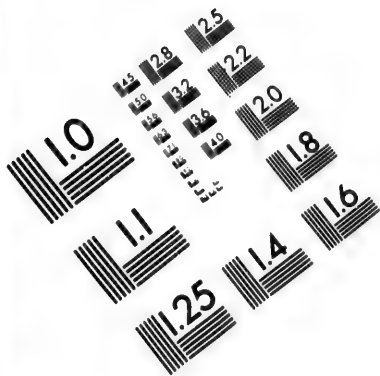
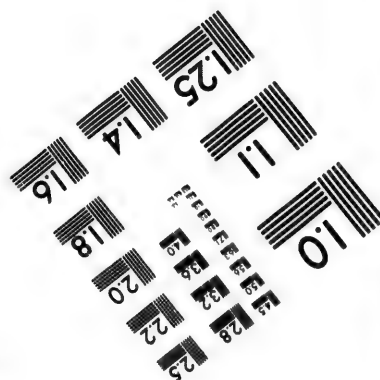
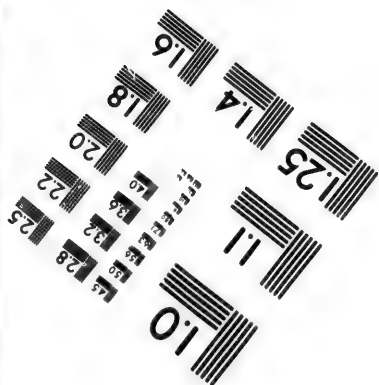
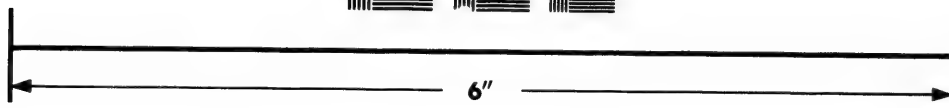
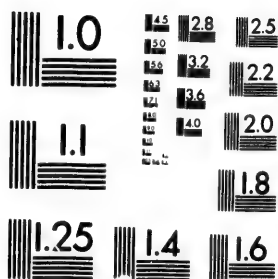


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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Sciences
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503



Entered	B
1801	Pes' David Prandon William—Ex. 1805 Beale Oliver
1802	Boyce Meschach Browning Jeremiah Billing John Booth Sharon Bethell John Budd Samuel Batchelor David Bangs Nathan
1803	Ballew John C. Bell John Bull Mitchell B. Budd Thomas Bishop Luther Burge Dyer
1804	Barnes William Blair William Royd James Barnes Nathan Birch Robert Boring Thomas Brindle James Brown John Bates Lewis Bates Dexter
1805	Browning Richard Barnes Joshua Bird Francis Boykin James Burch Thomas Banister Warren Bishop Benjamin Brett Pelney
1806	Brockington John Bolton Robert Bateman James
1807	Bennet Joseph Bryan Solomon Barnes Robert Bell Jacob Butler William Burgess Benedict Beaver Peter Baxter Aaron Brown Francis Baker Samuel Blake Ebenezer
1808	Barton Thomas Blany Tabor Beeman Jacob
1808	Bonney Isaac
1809	Bowman John

Entered	B
1809	Barnes Horatio Burgess Joel Burge Thomas Bell Caleb N.
1809	Brown Jesse—Died 1813 Bangart Jacob Brown William Bailey Stephen
1810	Brown John Barnes Dan Blackburn Leroy Bacon Thomas M. Bond John W.—Died, 1819 Bussing Peter Bigelow Noah Bushnell Samuel—Died, 1824 Byington Justus Bennet Leonard Bell Joseph C. Baker James H.
1811	Bryon Soloman Byrd John J. E. Boswell John Brown Daniel Branch Jesse Blanchard David Burdock Enoch
1812	Bonwell Charles Bass Henry Bunch Britton Bunch John Brown Archibald Bibins Elisha Belin James L.
1813	Brown Samuel Bowman John Bass Allen Barnett William Bird Elijah
1814	Brown Samuel Bear John Brayton Daniel Barrett Eli Bowen Elias Barlow Wm.—Withdrawn 1815 Bird Elijah
1815	Bacon Ladosa Bigelow Russel Bascomb Henry B. Baker Henry Barnard Allen R. Brame John T.—Died, 1828 Browder David Browder Tho.

B
 es Horatio
 ress Joel
 e Thomas
 Caleb N.
 wn Jesse—Died 1813
 gart Jacob
 wn William
 ey Stephen
 wn John
 nes Dan
 ckburn Leroy
 on Thomas M.
 d John W.—Died, 1819
 ssing Peter
 elow Noah
 hnell Samuel—Died, 1821
 ington Justus
 nnet Leonard
 ll Joseph C.
 ker James H.
 yon Solomon
 rd John J. E.
 swell John
 own Daniel
 anch Jesse
 anchard David
 ardock Enoch
 onwell Charles
 ss Henry
 nch Britton
 nch John
 own Archibald
 bins Elisha
 lin James L.
 own Samuel
 wman John
 ss Allen
 rnett William
 rd Elijah
 own Samuel
 ar John
 ayton Daniel
 rrett Eli
 wen Elias
 rlow Wm.—Withdrawn 18
 rd Elijah
 con Ladosa
 gelow Russel
 scomb Henry B.
 ker Henry
 rnard Allen R.
 ame John T.—Died, 1820
 powder David
 powder Tho.

Entered B
 1815 Baker Henry
 Barry Bazil
 Boyd Robt.
 Bowen Josiah
 Brown William
 Bangs Heman
 Bancroft Earl
 Baker Peter
 1816 Barnes Nathan
 Bloom John
 Bellah James
 Boyd John W.
 Beaks Thomas
 Burrows Walter
 Brown George
 Barclay David
 Boyd John
 Beebee Joshua
 Bacon John
 1817 Burnett George
 Booth Ezra
 Baker Samuel—Died, 1823
 Brooke John
 Barrett William D.
 Barnes William
 Briggs John
 1818 Baker Job
 Betts Charles
 Buckingham Peregrine
 Beaucamp Thomas
 Brown Ebenezer
 Burgess Peter
 Bray Sullivan
 Belton Samuel
 Beckwith Alba
 Barnes Enoch
 Buel Parker
 Beggarly John
 Brownson Joseph
 1819 Bar y Mordecai—Died, 1823
 Brockunier Samuel
 Brown George
 Butcher Joshua
 Brooks John
 Brown H rtwell
 Brown Sterling C.
 Burge William
 Battee Dennis
 Bangs John
 Bishop James
 Boardman Elijah
 1820 Bass Stephen
 Brown Horrace
 Bradfield John

Entered B
 1820 Browder Josiah
 Brock Moses
 Brame Thomas R.
 Barry Mordecai
 Bain Geo. A.
 Bradenbury Wm.
 Baker Charles
 Baker Samuel
 Brownson Ira
 Bennet Jasper
 Baker Joseph
 1821 Brunson Alfred
 Brokfield Isaac
 Brownley Archibald
 Bryson Samuel
 Brown Benjamin
 1822 Brandriff Richard
 Brooker Simon L.
 Browden James
 Bankson James
 Blasdell John
 Barstow Wm.
 Beloate John
 Baker German
 Boyd Robert
 Brown Thomas J.
 Blackburn A. J.
 Bernard Overton
 Bigby John
 Bartlett Horace
 Bulfinch Henry
 Ball Phineas
 Brooks Jonathan M.
 1823 Boggs Stephen R.
 Bryant William
 Bowen Abner
 Brown Barton
 Burkhalter David
 Barker Isaac
 Buck Amasa
 Barbary Philo
 1824 Berriman N. G.
 Baughman John A.
 Beacham Thomas
 Bleeck Daniel
 Barger John S.
 Blake Bennett T.
 Bond Richard
 Black Daniel
 Bradley Enoch
 Baker Gardiner
 Breakenridge David
 Bissel George
 1825 Brown Ira

Entered C
1825 Baxter Andrew F.

Barris Joseph S.
Brown Henry J.
Berry Michael
Boring Isaac
Barker Darius
Barnes Horatio P.
Black John

1826 Babcock James
Babcock Wm. R.
Brown William
Blackburn A. J.
Bell Benjamin
Bradley Jacky M.
Baily Robt. P.
Barcleft Wilson
Bell James W.
Best Hezekiah
Buck William S.
Binney Amos
Bailey Rufus C.
Bryant Benjamin

C

Coke Thomas*
Chew Thomas S.*
Cole Le Roy*
Cromwell James O.*
Cannon William*
Cox Philip*—Died, 1794
Curtis Thomas*
Coleman John*—Di. 1788
Cloud Adam*
Cole Carter
Cloud Robert*
Cooper Ezekiel*
Cann Robert*
Cooper John*—Died, 1789
1787 Conner James—Died, 1790
Carter Benj.—Died, 1793
Cook Cornelius—Di. 1790
Conway Charles
Callahan George
Combs David

Entered C

1787 Combs Daniel
1788 Calmers John
Cook Valentine
Callahan Griffith
Chastain Lewis
Cromwell Jos.—Exp'd 1798
1789 Conner Julius
Childs John
Cosden Jer.—Wd'n 1794
Carroll Thomas
Crawford John
1790 Cannon Joshua
Carlisle Simon—Ex'd 1794
Christie Henry
1791 Clark John—Wd'n 1796
Cowles Samuel
Colbert William
Cambell James
Covil James
Coleman James
1792 Crank Henry
Coleman Carlisle
Clark George
Chambers Ephraim
1763 Curp Frederick
Cox Robert
Crane Moses
1794 Cash Rezin—Died 1804
Cole Josiah
Coope Thomas—Ex. 1797
Cole Elisha
Canfield Ezekiel—Di. 1825
Coate Samuel
1795 Coate Michael
Crouch Daniel
Cullison John
Cavender Charles
Covington Solomon
1796 Curry Thomas
Conger Zenas
1797 Crawford Joseph—Ex. 1820
Chapin Nathaniel
Cowles Eber

C
 Daniel
 John
 Valentine
 Griffith
 Lewis
 Jos.—Exp'd 1798
 Julius
 John
 Jer.—Wd'n 1794
 Thomas
 John
 Joshua
 Simon—Ex'd 1794
 Henry
 John—Wd'n 1796
 Samuel
 William
 James
 James
 James
 Henry
 Carlisle
 George
 Ephraim
 Frederick
 Robert
 Moses
 Rezin—Died 1804
 Josiah
 Thomas—Ex. 1797
 Elisha
 Ezekiel—Di. 1820
 Samuel
 Michael
 Daniel
 John
 Charles
 Solomon
 Thomas
 Zenas
 Joseph—Ex. 1820
 Nathaniel
 Eber

Entered	C	Entered	C
1797	Chandler W. P.—Di. 1822	1806	Charles James
	Colbert Jacob		Chaney Jonathan
1798	Capel Brittain		Carr David
	Corr Billy	1807	Collins John
1799	Chichester Elijah		Crane John—Died, 1813
	Clark John—Wd'n—1800		Collingsworth John
1800	Campbell John		Cannon Edward
	Coe Jesse		Clingan John
	Cole Jesse		Conway Paul
	Cox John		Crawford John
	Clark Henry	1808	Cragg John
1801	Cook Isaac		Crawford Josiah
	Chieuvront Joseph		Cook Thomas Y.
	Carpenter Gilbert		Colborn Josiah
	Covell Zenas		Currier Caleb
	Crowell Seth		Clark Abner
	Candee Isaac		Cutler Samuel
	Clark Laban	1809	Crume Moses
	Crowell Joshua		Capers William
1802	Chappell James		Cooper Urban
	Carter Robert		Cooper Thomas
	Cassell Leonard—Di. 1809		Cummins Alexander
	Church Thomas		Compton William
	Cobb Allen H.		Carpenter Coles
	Coye Nehemiah	1810	Capers John P.
	Crutchfield William		Capers James
1803	Crowder James		Chase Abner
	Cummins Asa		Crowell David
	Cook Phineas		Covenhoven Peter
1804	Christian Gabriel		Cooper Edward
	Curren Thomas	1811	Colbert George A.
	Collins John		Campbell John
	Cochran Samuel		Culver Cyrus
	Chamberlain Luther		Cummins Cyrus
1805	Coleman Abdel		Cann Richard.
	Cartwright Peter	1812	Caliman John
	Cloud Caleb W.		Cord John
	Curtis Amos		Cunningham Jesse
	Clayton Dimpsey		Conn Richard
	Carson Joseph		Carter Shadrach B. A.
	Case William		Christopher G.
1806	Christian Abda		Colgan Jas. S.
	Callaway Charles		Clark Theod.

Entered	C	Entered	C
1812	Chamberlain Josiah F.	1819	Connel Zechariah
1813	Conger Isaac	1820	Coleman Abdel
	Collingsworth Wm.		Crouch Benjamin T.
	Carney Robt. F.		Collard Isaac
	Connally John		Cole Cheslea
	Cox Samuel J.		Clinton Thomas
	Chamberlain Israel		Cook Charles
	Cook Israel		Clark John
1814	Chamberlain Wyatt		Crandal Phineas
	Cameron William		Culver David
	Coffin Ezekiel W.	1821	Cook H. P.—Died, 1826
	Collinsworth William		Crawford William
	Cryer Hardy M.		Collard James
	Carver Oliver		Coston Zarah H.
	Clay Bradbury		Cravens William
	Childs John		Chamberlain David
	Cadden Robert		Clark Gilbert
1816	Cannon Ibrl		Crawford A. J.
	Covel James		Carpenter William
	Creamer John		Cumming James
	Covert Morris		Crowder Thomas
	Carper Josepu		Clark Samuel
	Christenbury Daniel		Chapman William H.
	Chenowith Samuel		Chancy Shadrach
	Cunningham Wm.—Ex 1826		Covel Samuel
1817	Carr Thomas	1822	Chase Squire
	Carpenter Timothy		Cassell Anthony W.
	Corson Richard R.		Cassett John
	Cowles Amasa		Copeland John
1818	Cushion Sam'l.—W'drn 1823		Cox Mellville B.
	Chapman Exum		Cahoon Charles D.
	Charlton George W.		Case John W.
	Cooley Cha's L.—Ex. 1825		Crane Elijah
	Corwine Richard		Chadwick Anson
	Connell William		Craig John
1819	Carey Sylvester		Covington John
	Coles George		Chatham Francis R.
	Coe Daniel		Carpenter William
	Conway Paul		Cumming David B.
	Collins Benjamin		Crane Caleb
	Carey Jeseeph		Chambers William
	Chesley George C.		Collins William H.
	Chappel John	1823	Crawford Joseph Y.

C
Zechariah
an Abdel
Benjamin T.
Isaac
Cheslea
Thomas
Charles
John
al Phineas
r David
H. P.—Died, 1826
ford William
rd James
n Zarah H.
ens William
berlain David
k Gilbert
ford A. J.
enter William
ming James
wder Thomas
k Samuel
pman William H.
ncy Shadrach
el Samuel
se Squire
sell Anthony W.
sert John
eland John
Mellville B.
oon Charles D.
e John W.
ne Elijah
dwick Anson
igg John
ington John
atham Francis R.
penter William
mming David B.
ne Caleb
ambers William
hins William H.
awford Joseph Y.

Entered	C
1823	Corson Robert
	Castle Joseph
	Chamberlain Parmele
	Carl Joseph
	Collins Isaac
	Chesney Jesse
	Conn William
	Cannon John
	Carle Jessop
	Cook Nathan P.
	Crane Benjamin
	Curtis William M.
	cannon Thomas H.
	clark Gilbert
1824	colvin Silas
	crawford John
	clifton Clement
	clardy Benjamin S.
	campbell Giles
	crawford Elias
	Colloway Joseph
	Cotton John
	Collier John
1825	Chandler John
	Castle Levi B.
	Glark Homer
	Carter Joseph
	Crane William
	Casteel Shadrach
	Crook William
	Chase Henry.
	Clark Lorin
	Champney Vanrenslaer
1826	Coleman Andrew
	callender Nathaniel
	Christy William B.
	Crow James
	Cravens Nehemiah
	Cole Philip
	Capers Benjamin
	Cookman George G.
	Calder Alexander
	Clark Charles P.

Entered	D
1826	Chase Charles G.
	Cory David
	D
	Duval Daniel*
	Debruler Micaiah*
	Dempster James*
	Duke Wm.
	Dickins John* Died, 1798
	Dudley Samuel*
	Drumgole Edward*
	Damaron Wm.*
1785	Deakins Stephen
1787	Davis Thomas
1788	Doddridge Jas.
	Davis Stephen—Di. 1796
	Davis Archer
	Davis Stephen
	Dawson Joseph
	Dougherty Wm.
	Dunkam Darius
	Difnal J.
1790	Dean Daniel
1791	Dillan Robt.
1792	Dawley James
	Dyer Wm.
1793	Durborough John
	Dyson Leonard
	Douglass Wm.
	Denton Benj.
	Danhet James
	Denis Daniel
1794	Dawley Wm.
	Dickins John
1795	Duzan Wm.
	Davey Timothy
1796	Dunn Joseph
1797	Douthet Saml.
	Dunham John
	Dodson Thos.
1798	Daugherty Geo.—Di. 1808
	Denman Hanover
	Drumgole Thos.
	Daughady Thos.—Di. 1811

Entered	D	Entered	D
1798	Dow Lorenzo	1812	Deyampert L. Q. C.
1799	Dillard James		Dance Mat. M.
	Denton James		Davissou Daniel
	Davis Peter B.		Dailey David
	Dunham David		Doolittle Ebn.
1800	Davis Wm.	1813	Dew John
1801	Darley Thos.		Dickerson Chas.
	Douglass Thos. L.		Duval Clackborne
	Draper Saml.—Died, 1824		Douthet Wm.
1802	Doxey Thomas		Dayle John
	Dustin Paul		Davis Hez.
1803	Durbin John—Died, 1805	1814	Davis Samuel—Died, 1822
	Draper Gideon	1815	Doan Phincas
	Dudley Daniel		Dayton Smith
	Donnelly David		Day Daniel
1804	Davissou James	1816	Davis Alphias
	David Jesse		Dempster John
	Dockins John		Dorchester Daniel
	Dunn Thomas		Day Solomon
1805	Dunwoody ———		Dowling Zac.
1806	Duvanny Benj.		Davis Philip
	Davids Abraham		Daughtry Josiah
	Dunn Michael	1817	Davidson Daniel
1807	Day Daniel		Dement Samuel
	Darrell Augustus		Duckson John
	Dowell Jacob	1818	Downing Russel
1808	Dulany Benj.		Dixon Freeman
	Drummond Thos. Ex. 1816		De Wolf Harvey Wd. 1822
	Draper Friend		Dowley Bennet
1809	Daty Samuel		Doup Peter
	Drake Ethelburt		Dix John—died, 1823
	Decellon John		Dunwolly James
	Densmore Geo. W.		Daver John
1810	Durr Michael		Dowler Bennet
	Davis John	1819	Demerest Thomas
	Davis Thomas		Dorsey Thomas
	Dane Francis	1819	Duff Peter
	Dennett Joseph		Donnelly James
1811	Dixon James	1820	Delap Robt.
	Doolittle Oria		Dyke David
	Dunbar Almond		Dunham Ezra
1812	Dixon William		Durbin John P.
	Dickersan Chas.		Denison Eli

D
 nbert L. Q. C.
 Mat. M.
 son Daniel
 y David
 tle Ebn.
 John
 rson Chas.
 l Clackborne
 et Wm.
 e John
 s Hez.
 s Samuel—Died, 1822
 a Phincas
 on Smith
 Daniel
 is Alphias
 pster John
 chester Daniel
 Solomon
 ling Zac.
 is Philip
 ghtry Josiah
 idson Daniel
 hent Samuel
 kson John
 vning Russel
 on Freeman
 Wolf Harvey Wd. 1822
 vley Bennet
 p Peter
 John—died, 1823
 hwolly James
 ver John
 wler Bennet
 merest Thomas
 sey Thomas
 f Peter
 annelly James
 ap Robt.
 ke David
 ahah Ezra
 rbin John P.
 nison Eli

E
 Entered
 1820 Devey Bazil
 De Forest Barlow
 1821 Devinne Daniel
 Dillard Allen B.
 Denham John
 Drake Benj.
 Dutton Mann
 Davis Chas. A.
 Davis John
 Dighton Benjamin
 1822 Davis Jonathan
 Deveraux Nat. L. P.
 Dustin Caleb
 Dow John G.
 Dixon Philip—Died, 1824
 Danahoo James T.
 1823 Douglass William S.
 Dyer William
 Dewey Elisha
 Doughty Samuel
 Dreskill Ambrose T.
 1824 Dunham Sylvester
 Duncan Richard
 Dills Nelson
 Dye John
 Dennehay James
 1825 Delay Jacob
 Dueher David
 Davidson Samuel R.
 Davidson Thos. P.
 Douglass Wm. V.
 Davis Samuel
 Dey James
 Doud Menzer
 1826 Davis James S.
 Duke Henry
 Denton John G.
 Doup Jacob.
 Dorsey Edwin
 Dandy James
 Denniston J. W.
E
 Ebert Philip*

E
 Entered
 1826 Ellis Reuben*—Died 1796
 Ellis Michael*
 Everett Joseph*—Di. 1810
 Ellis Ira*
 1786 Edwards Aquelia
 1787 Ellis Elijah—Died, 1788
 1790 Easter Thomas
 Everard Thomas
 1791 Earley William—Di. 1800
 1793 Ebert Jacob
 1795 Essex Benjamin
 Edwards Thomas
 Ellis Edward
 Evans Llewellyn
 1797 Ellis Stephen
 1799 Ellis John
 Emery Nathan.
 1798 Evans John
 1800 Eames Henry
 1803 Edney Levin
 Easty Eben.
 Ensign Datus
 1805 Ellington Wm.
 Edge Benjamin
 1806 Elliot Thomas
 1807 Edward Robt.
 Early John
 1808 Edge Obadiah
 1809 Elgin Wm. B.
 Erwin Josiah
 1810 Emory John
 1812 Ekins George
 Emery Richard—Died 1821
 1813 Elder Samuel T.
 Elliot Allen
 Emerson Isaiah
 1814 Eighmey Samuel
 Ellis Rueben
 1815 Everpart John
 1817 Elliott Chales
 Everhart Lawrence
 1818 Erwin George
 Eastwood Wm.

Entered	F	Entered	F
1818	Eddy Ira	1802	Foster Sylvester—Ex 1806
1819	Elliott Arthur		Fairbank Orin
	Emerson Josiah	1803	Fairbank Ebenezer
1821	Ellis Samuel	1805	Flint Richard
	Evans John	1806	Fisher Henry
	English Bond		Fogg Caleb
1822	Ercanbrack John	1807	Fisher Charles
	Evans French S.	1808	Floyd Wesley
	Ellis David		Finney William
1823	Emerson Warren		Fisher William S.
	Edwards Alex. F. Di. 1826		Fields Lebbens
	Edwards Lorenzo		Frost Leonard
1824	Ellsbury Isaac	1809	Frye Joseph
	Edmonson Jos.		Fox John
	Eastelley Isaac		Finley James B.
	Eaton Josiah		Ford John S.
1825	Eddy Augustus	1813	Ira Fairbank
	Ercanbrack Henry	1814	Ford John S.
	Enochs Isaac V.	1815	Feetherstone Joshua
	Easterly Christopher		Finley William P.
	F	1816	Freeman Obadiah
	Foster Thomas*		Fifield Moses
	Fidler John*		Foster Russell
1788	Fore John		Ferguson George
1689	Fidler Daniel	1817	Fares James
1791	Fisher Benjamin		Furlong Henry
1792	Fowler Samuel	1818	Fillmore Glezen
1794	Ferguson Rich'd—Ex 1792		Foster Jeter
1795	Finegan John		Flint Calvin N.
1796	Fell John		Fisk Wilber
	Foster Archibald		Freeman Jeremiah
1797	Floyd James		Fillmore Jesse
	Floyd Loammi—W'drn 1800		Fox Dana
1798	Fitzgerald Elijah		Fitzgerald Henry T.
1799	Fletcher Thomas		Flourney Robert
	Fidler John	1819	Fallows Joseph
1799	Field Hezekiah		Ferguson Samuel D.
	Fairbank Joseph		Foster Josiah
	Fox Nathan	1820	Fifield Mark
	Farrer Joseph		Fenandes Henry
1800	Floyd Moses	1821	Field Julius
1801	Felch Nathan—W'drn 1807		Fuller Aaron
1802	Frye Christopher		Farr George

F
 ter Sylvester—Ex 1806
 rbank Orin
 rbank Ebenezer
 t Richard
 ner Henry
 rg Caleb
 ner Charles
 yd Wesley
 ney William
 ner William S.
 ds Lebbens
 st Leonard
 e Joseph
 k John
 ley James B.
 d John S.
 Fairbank
 d John S.
 urtherstone Joshua
 ley William P.
 eman Obadiah
 eld Moses
 ter Russell
 guson George
 es James
 long Henry
 more Glezen
 ter Jeter
 t Calvin N.
 k Wilber
 eman Jeremiah
 more Jesse
 t Dana
 gerald Henry T.
 urney Robert
 ows Joseph
 guson Samuel D.
 ter Josiah
 eld Mark
 andes Henry
 d Julius
 er Aaron
 George

Entered G
 1821 Foot Orrin
 Flint Martin—Died, 1825
 1822 Fairbank George
 Fowler William
 Foster Hershel
 Fletcher Daniel L.
 French Milton
 Friak Elisha
 Ferris Philo
 Fitzegald Edward
 Freeman Josiah
 1823 Frink Silas
 Field Burton
 Finley John P.—Died, 1825
 Floyd Buzzel
 1824 Fisher Orseneth
 Fulton Creed
 Filley Levi C.
 Ferris Ira
 1825 Foss Cyrus
 Fish John
 Flemming David
 Fisk Sereno
 1826 Fox Absalom D.
 Fairchilds Ebenezer
 Ferree John
 Fisk John
 Fletcher Elliott B.
 Farner Eli P.
 G
 Gatch Philip*
 Green Greenbury*
 Garrettson Freeborn*
 Gill William*
 Glendenning William*
 Gibbons James*
 Green Lemuel*
 Greentree Matthew*
 1825 Gilbert Michael
 1826 Grigg Lewis G.
 1827 Green Robert
 Gassaway William
 1828 Grissam Wheeler

Entered G
 1788 Green Myles
 1790 George Enoch
 1791 Garrettson Aquilla
 1792 Gibson Tobias—Died, 1805
 1794 Garrettson Freeborn jr.
 Guthrie Peter
 Garrett Lewis
 1795 Games Henry M.
 Gurry William
 1797 Gaines Robert
 1798 Gossage Daniel
 1800 Garrison Levi
 Garrard Samuel
 Gamewell John
 Gruber Jacob
 Gove John
 1802 Greenade John A.
 Gorsline Samuel
 Goodhue William
 1703 Gwinn James
 Gibbons John
 Glidden True
 1804 Gillespie Simon
 Goodhue David
 1805 Giles Charles
 Gage Nathaniel
 1806 Gordon Benjamin
 Glenn James E.
 Guest Job
 Griffith Alfred
 1807 Gibson Zacheriah
 Goddard Abbott
 Goforth John
 1808 Glenn Thomas D.
 Green Allen
 Gridley Cyprian H.
 1809 Gass William
 Gary George
 Grant Loring
 Gatchell James
 1810 Glenn John B.
 Grambling Andrew
 Green Henry D.

Entered	G	Entered	H
1810	Gilbraith Robert		Greely Gorham
	Griffin Thomas	1822	Gardner William
	Grover Ezra		Green John C.
	Griffith Samuel		Gibbons John L.
1811	Griffith Walter—Di. 1822		Greaves Payton
	Gorwell Jacob		Glanville John
	Griffin Benjamin	1823	Griffis William
	Gillet Truman		Gibson William L.
1812	Goodner David		Gera John A.
	Giles John		Gaines Benjamin
1813	Graham John		Garrett Greenbury
1814	Griffin John		Griffith Nehemiah B.
	Gillespie Samuel P. V.		Gatch George
	Goodsell Buel		Gillmore Orrin
1815	Gentry Elijah	1824	Galluchatt Joseph
1816	Grant Isaac		Goode Joseph
	Goodsell John		Green Fisher
	Goodsell Mordecai	1825	Green A. L. P.
	Garrettson David		Gardner Rowse B.
	Gartman Daniel		Green Anson
	Garrett Lewis	1826	Gilbert John W.
1817	Green Benjamin		Greenup James
	Glaze Samuel—Di. 1824		Gilliland Samuel
1818	Goodwin Timothy		Garland Thomas L.
	Gifford Alanson—Di. 1822		Gassaway William
	Grace Samuel		Gerry Robert
	Gerrard Thompson		Goold Robert
	Greene Raleigh		Gage Royal
	Graves Thomas		Griffin Leonard
	Green Jesse		Greenleaf Greely
	Greene Philip		H
1819	Gardner Thomas		Hagarty John*
	Goddard Dennis		Haskins Thomas*
1820	Gough Abner		Hinton James*
	Gilbenth ———		Humphries Thomas*
	Gunn William		Haw James*
	Gordon Benjamin		Hartley Joseph*
	Goodwin Ezra S.		Hopkins Charles*
	Gilbert John B.		Hichson Woolman*—Di. 17
1821	Green Levin		Hull Hope*
	Glenn Joshua N.	1785	Harthy Joshua
	Gray David—Died, 1823		Hathaway Eleazer
	Gregg Henry	1786	Hardy James
			Hudson Ananiais
			Hardy Charles
			Hudson William

H
 ely Gorham
 dner William
 en John C.
 ons John L.
 aves Payton
 nville John
 is William
 son William L.
 a John A.
 nes Benjamin
 rrett Greenbury
 ffith Nehemiah B.
 ch George
 lmore Orrin
 lluchatt Joseph
 ode Joseph
 een Fisher
 een A. L. P.
 rdner Rowse B.
 een Anson
 lbert John W.
 reenup James
 lliland Samuel
 arland Thomas L.
 assaway William
 rry Robert
 old Robert
 ge Royal
 iffin Leonard
 reenleaf Greely
 H
 garty John*
 skins Thomas*
 nton James*
 mphries Thomas*
 w James*
 rtley Joseph*
 pkins Charles*
 hson Woolman*—Di. 17
 ll Hope*
 rthy Joshua
 thaway Eleazer
 rdy James
 dson Ananiais
 rdy Charles
 dson William

Entered H
 Harvey William
 Hunter Moses
 787 Harris Mathew
 Huggard David
 Haymond Thomas—Died, 1800
 Hutchinson Aaron—Died, 1791
 788 Hitt James
 Hagarty George
 Hardy Thomas
 Hill John
 Herbert Hardy—Died, 1795
 Hearth William
 Harpending Andrew—Ex. 1792
 789 Hutt John
 Hutchinson Robt.
 Hagard Rice
 Hitt Martin
 Hitt Daniel
 Hutchinson Sylvester
 790 Halliday John
 Hawe Horris
 Hitt Daniel—Died, 1826
 Humphrey Ezekiel
 791 Halley James
 Hill Henry
 Henley Abner
 Hitt Samuel
 Hunt Aaron
 Hallock —
 792 Hall Daniel
 Hunter William
 Hardy Edward
 Hardesty William
 Hunter James
 793 Hall Joshua
 Hunt Lewis—Died, 1803
 794 Hullom Duke W.
 Hancock Roger
 795 Hull Stephen—withdrawn, 1800
 Higgins James C.
 Hull Elias—Withdrawn, 1899
 796 Harris Solomon—Ex. 1807
 Harper John
 797 Higby Daniel
 Hill Collier
 Hill Joseph
 Harriman Hez.
 798 Hooser Samuel
 Hill Cornelius
 Hubbard Reuben—Ex. 1810
 Heath Asa
 Hibbard Billy
 799 Herron James H.
 800 Hunt James

Entered H
 1801 Hubbard William
 Hume David M.
 Hall Joseph
 Hall Oliver
 Hedding Elijah
 1802 Hill James
 Hays Joseph
 How Samuel
 Husselkus John
 Hillman Samuel
 1803 Henley Edmund—Died, 1809
 Hemphill Andrew
 Hudson Daniel
 Hill Sylvesty G.—Died, 1825
 Hoyer William
 Hill William
 Harris Reuben
 1804 Houston Anthony
 Hall Isaac
 1805 Holmes John
 Hill Sylvester
 Harris Benoni
 Hill Benjamin—Expelled, 1811
 Houston William
 Harper Myles
 Hardwick William
 Hill John
 Hill Erasmus
 1806 Hitt William
 Hellums Thomas
 Hearthcock Thomas
 Hall Horatio E.
 Henkle Saul
 Hill Nicholas
 Holmes John
 Hunt William—Expelled, 1811
 1807 Hood Frederick
 Hunter James
 Harley Joseph
 Hines Cannellem H.
 Hendrick William W.
 Harris John W.
 Hammond Rezin
 Harmon George
 Hickman Clement—Wd'n. 1810
 Hivener Jacob
 Holmes Ninian
 1807 Hulbert Cephas
 How Eli
 1808 Heniger John
 Harwell Coleman
 Harrison Samuel
 Hearne Thomas
 Harris James

Entered	II
	Hinkle Eli
	Hardy John W.
	Hinman William
	Hardesty David
1809	Hobbs Lewis
	Hemring John
	Hardy Henry
	Hill Jacob
	Hill William W.
	Hanson James H.
	Hibbard Robert—Died 1803
	Hays Robert
	Hoyt Benjamin R.
	Hill Nathan
	Hawkins Henry
	Hyde Edward
1810	Hellums Samuel
	Halliday Charles
	Hill Whiteman, C.
	Haskins John
	Hinds Orlando
	Hallett Peregrine
	Heustis Jonathan
1811	Hutton Lewis
	Hutto James
	Hewitt Ashley
	Hays James
	Holmes Henry
	Hunter Samuel—Died, 1825
	Hunter Henry
	Hill John L.
	Hunt Jesse
	Hibbard Elijah
	Hopkins Silas
	Hazzard John
1812	Hart William
	Hill Jacob
	Hanna Robert
	Hazleton Benjamin
	Hickox Joseph
1813	Harris Mumford
	Harris West
	Hodges Samuel K.
	Hale Jesse
	Harris William
	Harris Fletcher—Died, 1819
	Harris James H.
1813	Haines Ransom
	Hutchinson David
	Hamilton John
	Hall James
	Hollis Samuel
1814	Hazen James
	Hilliard David

Entered	II
	Hunt Richard—Withdrawn 182
1815	Harris James H.—Expelled 181
	Harrison John C.—Ex. 1821
	Hunt William—Ex. 1820
	Hill Isaac
1816	Hooser Samuel
	Hanner James
	Hamel Andrew
	Harrison Samuel
	Hunt Absalom
	Hamiston Samuel
1817	Holdman William
	Harris John
	Hern Ebenezer
	Hankins William
	Harris Isaiah
1818	Haskel Square B.
	Hamilton William
	Hamil Hugh
1819	Harris Williams
	Howard John
	Hill John G.
	Holt Isaac E.
	Harwell Samuel
	Holland Hezekiah
	Harber John
1820	Hunter Isaac C.
	Hinkle Moses
	Hitt Thomas
	Harris Nathaniel
	Hoskins Burg. L.
	Hank William
	Hendry John
	Hael John
	Horton Jothan
	Harvey James P.
	Halloway Aaraham
	Hamilton Frances
	Havins James
	Hawley William L.
	Harned Wm.
1821	Hesters Geo. V.
	Healy Ezra
	Hyneman Samuel
	Hadson Thomas M.
	Humphries T. B.
	Higgins Solomon
1821	Hodge James
1822	Hall Ephraim
	Humphrees Humphries
	Henry John
	Holdich Joseph
	Horne George
	Hearn Jacob

Richard—Withdrawn 1822
 s James H.—Expelled 1821
 ison John C.—Ex. 1821
 William—Ex. 1820
 Isaac
 er Samuel
 er James
 el Andrew
 ison Samuel
 t Absalom
 iston Samuel
 lman William
 is John
 n Ebenezer
 kins William
 is Isaiah
 kel Square B.
 ilton William
 nil Hugh
 is Williams
 ward John
 John G.
 t Isaac E.
 well Samuel
 land Hezekiah
 rber John
 nter Isaac C.
 uke Moses
 t Thomas
 rris Nathaniel,
 skins Burg. L.
 ank William
 endry John
 el John
 orton Jothan
 rvey James P.
 alloway Aaraham
 amilton Frances
 avins James
 awley William L.
 arned Wm.
 esters Geo. V.
 ealy Ezra
 yneman Samuel
 adson Thomas M.
 umphries T. B.
 gins Solomon
 dge James
 ll Ephraim
 umphrees Humphries
 enry John
 ldich Joseph
 orne George
 earn Jacob

Entered II
 1822 Harber Stephen
 Harber Obethiah
 Hughey Laban
 Hughs Whitefield
 1823 Howe Nathan
 Howe Urial
 Howe Bezaleel
 Howel John
 Huckabee G. W.
 Hardy Charles
 Horper Edward
 Henderson Marcus
 Harwell Colman
 Holland John H.
 Harris James D.
 Hewson Thomas
 Hull Samuel
 Hammet Wm.
 Hunt Henry W.
 1824 Hudson Thomas
 Hitchener James
 Hopkins Robert
 Holliman Thomas
 Holmes James
 Holmes William
 Holt Jonathan
 Horrell Abraham
 Houghton Amasa H.
 Hill John W.
 Horton Peter D.
 Hemmingway James
 Heyland Rowley
 Henderson William C.
 Harrison Cassel
 Hargrave Richard
 Hudson Richard H.
 Harris G. W. D.
 Henly John
 Hawkins John O. T.
 Haney John P.
 Hunter John
 Hartley Isaac
 Hulin Alexander
 Hutchinson John
 Hatton Robert C.
 Holmes George S.
 Hill John
 Havens John C.
 Holliday Charles M.
 Hadley James
 Hollyman Wm. H.
 Henderson George C.
 Herbert Richard H.
 Houghton Benjamin A.

Entered I
 1826 Hughes Jephtha
 Howell Thomas D.
 Hildt George
 Holmes David
 Hill Aaron S.
 Husted John B.
 Hill Moses
 Harrington James
 Harlow Lemuel
 Havens Jotham
 Hoag Wilbur
 Holstead Henry
 Herrick Ephraim
 Harker Millin
 I
 Ivy Richard*—Died, 1796
 Biff Benjamin—Died, 1806
 Ireland Daniel—Withdrawn 1821
 1812 Ireson Joseph
 1822 Irvine Alexander
 1823 Ingersol John
 1824 Ireson Ebenezer
 1826 Biff Joseph
 J
 Jackson Thomas*
 James John*
 Jefferson David*
 Jessop William*—withdrew 1796
 Jones Henry*
 1785 Johnson Stephen
 1786 Jarrell John—Died, 1796
 1787 Johnson Gethro—Wd'n, 1794
 1788 Jackson Jonathan
 1789 Jackson William
 1790 Johnson Gregory
 Jones John
 Jones John N.—Died, 1799
 1791 Jones Joshua
 1792 Jackson Jeremiah
 Jenkin Jones
 1793 Johnson James—Ex. 1794
 Jefferson Hamilton
 Jones Joshua
 1794 Jones James
 1795 James Aquila
 Johns Daniel
 Jewell Joseph
 1796 Johnson Sahdrach
 Jaques Peter—Died, 1806
 J
 1797 Jocelyn Agustus
 James William
 Jones Thomas
 Jones Hill

Entered	J.	Entered	K
1798	Justice Jesse	1823	Johnson William
1799	Jarrett Nathan—Died, 1804		Jarrett Richard F.
	James David		Jones John
	Jones Rueben		Jean John
1800	Jones Willy	1824	Johnson James E.
	Jones William		Jarrett Tho. A.
1801	Jones Benjamin—Died, 1805		Jones Lewis
1802	James Daniel	1825	Jones John G.
1804	Johnson John		Jones Watters B.
	Jones Enoch		Joycelin Aaron
	Jennings James	1826	Johnson Hugh
1805	Jean William		K
	Jeffries Jeremiah		Kenady Henry*
	Judge Hillard		Kimble Geo.*
1806	Jinks John		King John*
1807	Jones John C.	1788	Kendall David
	Jester James	1791	Kinllinsworth Freeman
	Jaques Enoch	1792	Kinsey Absalam
1808	Johnson Ewen—Died, 1816		Kamkey Zebulon
	Jewett William	1793	Ketchum Joel
1809	Johnson John	1794	King James
	Jacob John		Kavanaugh William
	Jones Benjamin	1795	Keneyan William
1810	Jones Alberton		Keeler Sylvanus
	Jennings John	1796	Kendall Caleb
	Jewett John	1798	Kibby Epaphras
1811	Jenkins Samuel	1799	King Jeremiah
	Jaques James	1800	Knowlton Gideon A.—Di. 181
1812	Jacob Alisha P.	1801	Kewley John
	Jacob Stephen—Died, 1819	1802	Kent Asa
1813	Johnson Samuel	1803	Kernagan Andrew
	Jones Peter	1804	Kelly Daniel
	Jones Zenas		King Daniel
1814	Jones William		King Samuel
	Johnson Waddell		Kennedy Philip—Died, 1823
	Jackson James	1805	Kilpatrick Joshua W.
	James Peter	1806	Kennedy Wm. M.
1815	Jones William		Kelsey James
1817	James William		Keith William—Died 1810
1818	Jeffers Robert	1807	King James
	Jamison Isaac—Died 1823		Kennon John W.
1819	Johnson Enoch		Kline John
	Jenkins Samuel	1808	Kirkham Thomas
	Jerry John L.		Kennon Charles L.
	Jones Greenbury R.		Kimberlin John
1821	Jones James		Kelburn David
	Jamison Milton	1809	Kennon Robt. L.
	Judd Gaylord		Kimball Nathan
1822	Jarrett Nathaniel R.		Kelpatrick Joseph N.
	Jamer Thomas		Kennon Robt. L.
1823	Jones Benjamin	1810	King Duncan
	Johnston Mark		Kinkard Joseph—Died, 1824
	Jones Ephraim	1811	King Tho. A.
	Jones Lavellen		King Samuel

K
 William
 Richard F.
 John
 John
 James E.
 Tho. A.
 Lewis
 John G.
 Watters B.
 Aaron
 Hugh
 K
 Henry*
 Geo.*
 John*
 David
 Sworth Freeman
 Absalam
 Zebulon
 Joel
 James
 William
 William
 Sylvanus
 Caleb
 Epaphras
 Jeremiah
 Iron Gideon A.—Died, 1810
 John
 Asa
 Andrew
 Daniel
 Daniel
 Samuel
 Philip—Died, 1823
 Joshua W.
 Wm. M.
 James
 William—Died 1810
 James
 John W.
 John
 Thomas
 Charles L.
 John
 David
 Robt. L.
 Nathan
 Joseph N.
 Robt. L.
 Duncan
 Joseph—Died, 1824
 Tho. A.
 Samuel

Entered	L
1811	Kelly John Kemball Lewis Kincard Thomas
1812	Koger James King William
1813	Kennerley Thomas King Elijah
1814	Kunzelman Henry
1816	Kent John
1817	Kennaly Sam. C. King Benjamin Keith Benjamin
1819	King Henry G. Kesterson John
1820	Kinney John Kainer Andrew Keach John P. Kelley Daniel Kellam Joseph Kellogg Ezra Kies Josiah Kendall Caleb
1821	Kent William J. Knapp Henry Kendrick W. P. Kirby John W. M. Kelly Rosewell
1822	Kelly Samuel Knight William Kelly John
1823	Kanady John Kerr John
1824	Kavanaugh H. H. Kirkpatrick Robt.
1825	King Tho. M. Kerr Moses
	L
	Littlejohn John* Lindsey Robt.* Lambert Jeremiah*—Died, 1786 Lee Jesse*—Died, 1816 Lee Wilson*—Died, 1805
1786	Leard Michael Lurton Jacob
1787	Lockett Daniel Low Isaac
1788	Lumsford Isaac Lee John
1789	Lindsay John Ledbetter Henry Losee William
1790	Lipsey Arthur Lillard Joseph Lilly Wm. A.

Entered	L
1791	Lipsey Ricketson Lucas Thomas—Died, 1819 Lyell Thomas Lovel Thomas
1793	Le Masters Wm.
1794	Ledbetter Charles Lindsey John
1795	Lakin Benj. Lackey John
1796	Lambeth William Leeds Robt. Luttomus James
1797	Lyon Richard Leach John—Died, 1803
1798	Lamb Shubal
1799	Larkins Edward
1800	Langdon Solomon
1802	Lewis James
1803	Lotspeich Ralph
1804	Lumsden Jeremiah Lattimore John Lyon Zalmon
1805	Lee Timothy Lacy Wm. B.—Withd'n 1814 Lane George
1806	Light Geo. C. Limbard Benj. F. Lee Garrett Lawrence Moses Lowman Wm. G.
1808	Lewis William Layton Mynus Lambert Chandley Lockwood Joseph Locke Isaac Lodd Milton
1809	Lewis John Lloyd Wood Lindsey Isaac Lauck Simon Lamden William Laws James Lindsay John
1810	Lodge Nathan—Died, 1815 Lawrence Lawrenson Lull Joseph Leach James G. Lindsey Marcus Lawrence Joshua Lebrand Joseph Lyon Gilbert Levis Samuel P. Leonard Wm. Lewis David

Entered	L
1811	Luckey Samuel Lewis John Lanning Ralph Lummus Aaron
1812	Lewis Samuel Lagdrum Francis Lanning Gideon Lent James S.
1813	Leach Caleb Lott Elisha Lindon John Luffkin Joseph
1814	Lummis Wm. Larken Thomas
1815	Lane Samuel
1816	Lippett Abraham Lent Isaac Lovejoy John Lawrence Benj.
1817	Linville John Lee Jesse
1818	Landon Seymour Levings Noah Lane Joachim Leigh Hez. G. Lewrey Thomas
1819	Ladd Moses Lummus Aaron Lee John Larkin Jacob Locke George Lowery James
1821	Lemrick David Lancy Noah Ligh Wm. Luckey John Lark Wallace Lewis Benj. R. Lovel Stephen Landon Benj.
1822	Leslie David Le Vert Eugene Liddon Benj. F. Leadbetter Rufus
1823	Lull William Lake Wesley P. Ludman John Lambden Daniel Lee John G. Lewis Isaac Leadbetter Wyley Leach Frederick
1824	Lorain Alfred M.

Entered	M
1824	Long Abraham Lopp Andrew Leadbetter Thos. E. Leggett Lewallen Legget Daniel Lambuth John Lemay Thomas Lumsden Wm. O. Langon James Lutton Robt.
1825	Low Samuel Le Fevre John W.
1826	Low David Lindsey Jos. Lamb Caleb Levings C. W.
	M
	Mair George*—Died, 1788
	Matson Enoch*
	Moore George*
	Moriarty Peter*
	Morris Edward*
	Major John—Di. 1788
1785	Mastin Jeremiah
1786	Mason John Moore Mark Maxey Caleb Merrick John Matthews Lasley Merritt Henry Minter Jeremiah
1787	Moore Nathaniel Morrell Thomas Mills Nathaniel B. Milburn John
1788	Maxey Bennet Moss William Meacham James Martin Lenox
1789	Moore Lemuel Matthews Philip Mooring C. S.—Di. 1827
	Moore Joseph Moody William Martin George
1791	Miller Simon—Di. 1795

M
 abraham
 andrew
 tter Thos. E.
 t Lewallen
 Daniel
 th John
 Thomas
 en Wm. O.
 n James
 Robt.
 amuel
 vre John W.
 David
 ey Jos.
 Caleb
 gs C. W.

M
 George*—Died, 1788
 on Enoch*
 re George*
 arty Peter*
 ris Edward*
 or John—Di. 1788
 tin Jeremiah
 on John
 re Mark
 ey Caleb
 rick John
 hews Lasley
 ritt Henry
 ter Jeremiah
 re Nathaniel
 rell Thomas
 s Nathaniel B.
 urn John
 ey Bennet
 s William
 cham James
 tin Lenox
 re Lemuel
 hews Philip
 ring C. S.—Di. 1822
 re Joseph
 ody William
 tin George
 er Simon—Di. 1795

Entered **M**
 1791 Moore Levin
 1792 Mansfield Lawrence
 Mead Stith
 Massie Peter—Di. 1792
 1793 Mudge Enoch
 1794 Munday Jeremiah
 Mann Thomas
 Mitchell Joseph
 1795 Moody Archer
 Matthews Benjamin
 Munsy Nathaniel
 Mills Edward
 1796 Merritt Timothy
 1797 Meador Banister
 1798 Milligan Thomas
 1799 Myres Lewis
 Maddox Zechariah
 Matthews Moses
 Moore John
 Mills William
 Merrick John
 1800 Monnett Samuel
 Merwin Samuel
 Morris Caleb
 1801 Marsh William
 Mellard James H.
 Moody John
 Morton Alexander
 Morgan Moses
 1802 Mills Samuel—Died, 1812
 Mintz David B
 Matthews Edward
 Metcalf Alfred
 Munger Philip
 Madden Thomas
 1804 Meek John
 1805 Martin Henry—Di. 1809
 Matherey Charles B.
 1806 Murphey William
 Morgan Gerard
 1807 Morrill Joseph S.
 1808 Mason Thomas
 Mallory Henry

Entered **M**
 1808 Montooth Henry
 Monroe Joshua
 Melvin Avra
 Merritt Leroy
 1809 Miller Thomas
 Martindale Stephen
 Minnear Abraham
 1810 Marble Elias
 Manley John
 Morton Josiah
 Monroe Willam
 Miner Timothy
 Mattison Seth
 1811 Mills Jacob
 Mattox Aaron
 Meek Samuel S.
 Mullinex John
 Mallory John
 Matthias John B.
 Marsh William
 1812 Monjar Francis A.
 1813 Malone Benjamin
 Morris Presby
 Mitchell Zacheriah
 Morrison Wm. C.
 Menshall Robert
 Macklefresh John
 1814 Moore Daniel
 Moore Amos
 Moore Amos C. Ex. 1817
 Moore Daniel—Died 1819
 Monaghan Daniel
 Murrow John
 Manifer John
 1815 Mner Sherman
 Moore Jacob
 Muire Thacher
 1816 Mahan Matthew
 Munroe Andrew
 1817 Morris Thomas A.
 Manson William
 Matthias John J.
 1818 Mack Wilder

Entered	M	Entered	M
1818	Morris Nicholas—Ex. 1821	1826	Merryman D. C.
	Moore James		Moore Richard
	Morgan Asbury		Mann John
1819	Metcalf Franklin		Marby Wm. H.
	Miller John		Miller Thomas
	Mullenix John		Meeker Cyrus
	Marshal Lewis S.		Moore Green G.
	Medford William		Merrill Moses
	Mavity William	1785	M'Claskey John
	Matthews Henry	1787	M'Henry Barnabas
1820	Manory John		M'Kendree William
	Murrdy James		M'Gee Thomas
	Marby Thomas	1789	M'Dowell William
	Mason Berg.		M'Lenahan William
	Morris Geo. W.		M'Kenny George
	Morasty John	1791	M'Coy Robert
	Moore Hiram	1792	M'Combs Lawrence
1821	Moore Francis	1794	M'Gee Matthew
	Martin William	1795	M'Cay Elijah
1822	Maffitt John N.		M'Collum William
	Meeker Hiram	1797	M'Caine Alexander
	Morris James		M'Lane Ebenezer
	Malone Green	1799	M'Lane Alexander
	Mealy Geo. M.	1802	M'Carty Hugh
1823	Mayo Henry	1803	M'Vean John
	Morgan William	1804	M'Guire Adjet
	Maldux Patrick N.		M'Clure John
	Millin William		M'Kenney William
	Milligan James	1805	M'Lelland Hezekiah
	Maneer Solomon	1806	M'Masters William
1824	Mossey John H.	1807	M'Crackin George
	Mood John		M'Donal Angus
	Mason Washington	1808	M'Minn Jedadiah
	Mason Reuben	1809	M'Rowan ———
	Macon Harrison H.	1810	M'Daniel Henry
	Mayhew Jouathan		M'Ewen Alexander M.
	May Hiram		M'Farland John
	Messmore Joseph	1811	M'Mahan James
1825	Merremoon Branch	1812	M'Mehan Joan
	Moore George	1813	M'Daniel Elijah
	Moss Wm. B.		M'Ellroy Archibald
	Merrivether R. D.		M'Phail Daniel
	Martin Timothy		M'Bride David S.

M
 ryman D. C.
 re Richard
 n John
 by Wm. H.
 er Thomas
 ker Cyrus
 re Green G.
 rill Moses
 laskey John
 enry Barnabas
 endree William
 Gee Thomas
 Dowell William
 enahan William
 Kenny George
 Coy Robert
 Combs Lawrence
 Gee Matthew
 Cay Elijah
 Collum William
 Caine Alexander
 Lane Ebenezer
 Lane Alexander
 Carty Hugh
 Veau John
 Guire Adjet
 Clure John
 Kenney William
 Lelland Hezekiah
 Masters William
 Crackin George
 Donal Angus
 Minn Jedadiah
 Rowan ———
 Daniel Henry
 Ewen Alexander M.
 arland John
 Mahan James
 Mehan Joan
 Daniel Elijah
 Ellroy Archibald
 Phail Daniel
 Bride David S.

Entered **M**
 1814 M'Cain Hugh A.
 M'Aden James
 M'Intyre Nich.—Di. 1824
 M'Clendon John
 M'Gee John
 1815 M'Nelly ———
 M'Gee Thomas
 1816 M'Creary Joseph
 M'Daniels
 M'Henry Daniel
 1817 M'Cord James
 M'Allister Alex.
 M'Allister Rich.—Di. 1822
 M'Gray William
 M'Kee Joel
 1819 M'Clain Andrew
 M'Carey Thomas
 1820 M'Coy William
 1821 M'Cord John
 M'Reynolds W. M.
 M'Reynolds, J. W.
 M'Daniel Daniel G.
 M'Daniels Daniel G.
 M'Pherson M.
 1822 M'Lawrin James
 M'Dowell William
 1823 M'Cartney Francis
 M'Kay Elijah B.
 M'Leod Daniel
 1824 M'Intire James
 M'Commas Wm.
 M'Ferrin James
 1825 M'Daniel G.
 M'Pherson Samuel
 M'Mullen Daniel
 1826 M'Donel Jacob
 M'Leod Dixon C.
 M'Allister W. L.
 M'Ferrin John B.
 M'Dowell Joseph
 M'Pherson Angus
 M'Clunn Wm. W.
 M'Cann James

Entered **N**
 1785 Noseworthy George
 1789 Nicholson Jesse
 1791 Nichols Andrew
 Nolley James
 Newman Jonathan
 1792 Northcott Benjamin
 1793 Nichols William
 1795 Norwood Nathaniel
 1797 Nichols John
 1805 Noland Obed
 1806 Neeley William
 Norris Greenleaf R. Di 1812
 1807 Norton James—Died 1825
 Neeley Thomas
 1808 Nolley Richmond—Di. 1814
 Neal Thomas
 1810 Nelson Thomas
 1811 Nelson Matthew
 Norris Thomas
 1812 Northrop Beardsley
 1813 Nixon John
 Nixon Thomas—Died 1823
 Nye Joshua
 1814 Northrop Charles
 Norwood Nich.—Died 1821
 1815 Norton John
 1818 Norris Samuel
 1819 Nash Miles
 1820 Norwood Thomas W.
 Nash Elisha
 Neeper Richard
 1821 Nixon John
 Nickerson H.
 1822 Norris J. B. H.
 Nealey Richard
 Norval Nath'l. L.
 1823 Nichols Jarvis Z.
 Nealy Thomas J.
 1824 Nicholson James
 1825 Norman Jeremiah Junr.
 Newman Theron W.
 Nolly George W.
 Norris William H.

Entered	O
1825	Norris Nathaniel
	Newhall Matthew
1826	New John
	North Henry B.
	Nichols William P.
	Norsworthy Fredrick P.
	Normon Simeon
	O
	O'Kelly Ja's*—Wd'n 1793
	Ogburn Henry*
	Owings Richard*—Di. 1787
1786	Ogburn Benjamin
	Ormond William—Di. 1804
1791	O'Cull James
1793	Ostrander Daniel
1794	Owing Anning
1800	Osburn Joseph
1804	Oglesby Joseph
	Owing William
1805	Oglesby Joshua
	Owen Richardson
	Owen John
	Otis Erastus
1812	Ogletree Benjamin
1813	Ogletree Philemon
	Owens John C.
	Osborn Vanrensselaer
1814	Othman Bartholomew
	Owen Travis
	Owen Thomas
1815	Overall Nace
1818	O'Fling Edmund
1819	Orr Washington
	Oram E.
1821	Orcott Asa
1822	Overall Abraham
1823	Osborne Elbert
	Owen Francis
1824	Oslin Isaac
	Olin Stephen
	Oakley Peter C.
1825	Ogden Benjamin W.
	Orr Green

Entered	P
1825	Ogden Pharaoh
1826	Osborn Theron
	Otis Asahel jr.
	Overfield Win. D.
	Ozier Jacob
	P
	Poythress Francis*
	Pigman Ignatus*
	Pile Simon*
	Phœbus William*
	Partridge ———Wd'n 1785
	Pedicord C. B.—Di. 1785
1787	Pearson Richard
	Phelps Elisha
1788	Parks James
	Pope Richard
	Prior Emory
1790	Parker Francis
	Powell James
	Pace John
	Pinkard Nathaniel
	Pickering George
1791	Pelham Elisha
1792	Page John
	Potts John—Di. 1823
	Peck Jacob
	Paynter James
	Perkins Jason
1793	Page William
1794	Priest Zadok—Di. 1796
	Posey Richard
1795	Pinnell Joseph
	Patterson James
1796	Pitts John
	Philips John
1798	Philips Josiah
1800	Parven Aaron
	Peckett Daniel
	Polemus James
1801	Peck Phineas
	Peckitt William
1802	Porter Hugh
	Parker Fielder

P
 en Pharaoh
 rn Theron
 Asahel jr.
 field Wm. D.
 r Jacob
 P
 hress Francis*
 an Ignatus*
 Simon*
 bus William*
 ridge —Wd'n 1788
 cord C. B.—Di. 1785
 son Richard
 ps Elisha
 s James
 e Richard
 r Emory
 ter Francis
 ell James
 e John
 ard Nathaniel
 ering George
 am Elisha
 e John
 s John—Di. 1823
 k Jacob
 nter James
 ins Jason
 e William
 t Zadok—Di. 1796
 y Richard
 ell Joseph
 erson James
 John
 ps John
 ps Josiah
 en Aaron
 ett Daniel
 nus James
 Phineas
 itt William
 r Hugh
 er Fielder

Entered	P
1802	Pattie Asa Perry Dan
1803	Perry Thomas Pearse Gershom Pickett William Pettigrew Crew
1804	Pattison William Phelps Samuel Parker Parley Parker Clement
1805	Parker Samuel Pigree Reddick Pierce Lovick Pinnell Jesse Porter John Pinner John Perry Robert Powers George
1806	Porter Robert Paine Thomas Philips George Pinnell Thomas Prindle Andrew Purden John
1807	Pease Lewis Pattie Elias Patten John Paine Lela Peck Joseph
1808	Parch Thomas Pickin Lewis
1809	Puffer Isaac
1810	Pinnell William Pool Ashby Price John
1811	Page John Phipps John Piggot Joseph Pavey Isaac Pullum Nathan Postell John Pickins Andrew Pearce Marmaduke

Entered	P
1812	Porter Thomas D. Paine John Puckitt Thomas Powell Drury
1813	Porter James Pearsons James Parks Richard Potts John Price Phineas
1814	Prettyman William Pratt Job Phelps Eleazer Pierce Joseph Padgett Henry
1815	Patterson Josiah Pownal Joseph Parker Samuel—Di. 1821
1816	Peebles William Peck George Piggott Joseph Proctor Benjamin Plumb James—Ex. 1821
1817	Peter Simon Peoples Benjamin Page Edward Pesry Amos
1818	Payton Yelverton Peal James G.—Died 1822 Pittman Charles Parker Ira—Wd'r. 1823
1819	Pier Orrin Pram Edward Pipkin Barnabas Paine Robert
1820	Peter William Piggot Isaac N. Pool William C. Plummer Samuel Page True Parker Roswell Parker Robert Parkus Philetus
1821	Payne Thomas

Entered	P
1821	Paulsaul John Peck Wiley B. Purifoy Arch. Peyton Henry Panesh Daniel Prindle Cyrus Pease W. S.—Died 1826 Perry Heman
1823	Preston Mark Parker John Putnum Roswell Parks William Pomeroy John Pearson Edward Patton William Parker Lewis Power John H. Pardo John Pool Jacob Paine Benjamin Petty Ewell Puffer Stephen Parrott Dennis M. Parker Felix Petty Sewell Purifoy M'Carrel Perry Edward T. Plimpton Belling O.
1824	Pattee True Pipkin Richard Panabaker John Porter Nathaniel Perkins Jared Putman George
1825	Pitts Fountain Parker Nathaniel Perdew Abner Poor Joshua Plummer Edwin Peirce Aaron
1826	Peyton Robert S. Poor David Pier Orris

Entered	Q
1826	Pearsall Joseph Paddelford J. W. Plumley Daniel
	Q
1807	Quinn Isaac
1809	Quail James—Di. 1826
1817	Quinn William
1818	Quinlan James
	R
	Reed Nelson*
	Ringold William*
	Robertson John*—Wd 1799
	Riggin John*
	Row Samuel*
	Rodda Martin*
	Rallins Isaac*
1785	Ross Levin
1787	Riggin Benton—Di. 1799
	Roberts Benjamin
	Reed Eliphalet—Di. 1791
1788	Richardson Jesse
1789	Robinson John
	Roberts George
	Ragan John—Died, 1795
	Ratcliffe William
1790	Rudder Samuel
	Rogers Evan
	Rainor Menzer Di.—179
	Roper Frederick
1791	Randall Josias
	Rogers James
	Robinson Isaac
1792	Rexford Jordan—Wd. 179
	Rowen Joseph
	Rogers Levi
1793	Risher Samuel
1793	Richardson David
1794	Reynolds John H.
1794	Rowzee Edward T.
1800	Ross Daniel
	Russel Jeremiah
	Robbins Isaac
	Ryan Daniel—Di. 1805

Q
 rsall Joseph
 leford J. W.
 nley Daniel
 Q
 n Isaac
 il James—Di. 1826
 n William
 lan James
 R
 d Nelson*
 gold William*
 ertson John*—Wd 1793
 gin John*
 v Samuel*
 da Martin*
 ins Isaac*
 s Levin
 gin Benton—Di. 1799
 erts Benjamin
 d Eliphalet—Di. 1791
 hardson Jesse
 inson John
 erts George
 an John—Died, 1795
 cliffe William
 der Samuel
 rs Evan
 or Menzer Di.—179
 er Frederick
 adall Josias
 ers James
 inson Isaac
 kford Jordan—Wd. 1793
 wen Joseph
 ers Levi
 her Samuel
 hardson David
 nolds John H.
 vzee Edward T.
 s Daniel
 sel Jeremiah
 bins Isaac
 an Daniel—Di. 1805

Entered	R
1800	Ryan Henry
1801	Rose Samuel
	Ruter Martin
	Ryland William
	Roberts R. Roberts
1802	Ralvin Thomas
	Richer Daniel
1803	Robertson John—Di. 1821
	Ridgaway James
1804	Richards John—W'dn 1808
	Redstone Henry
1805	Riggin Joshua
	Russel James
	Ridgaway Wm.
	Reynolds Caleb
	Riley Lawrence
1806	Rider Nathaniel
1807	Rogers Osborn
	Roundtree Charles
	Reynolds Benedict
	Rice Phineas
1808	Rumph Christian
	Ross Samuel
	Rawleigh Samuel L.
	Reed Charles
	Reynolds John
	Randle Joshua
1809	Richards Richard
	Redwin William
	Rumph Jacob—Di. 1812
	Rye John
	Richardson Marvin
1810	Riley Tobias
	Richmond Steph.—Di. 1817
1811	Ross Hugh
	Ryder William
	Roberts Palmer
	Robinson Abel
1812	Rhoton Benjamin
	Ross William—Died 1824
1813	Ray Anderson
	Row Reuben
	Robinson Henry

Entered	R
1813	Reeder Nathaniel
1814	Rusling Joseph
	Roberts Orin
	Ruark Shad
	Reynolds Bowen
1815	Reid James
	Rogers Joshua
1816	Richards William
1817	Reed Joseph
	Reed Fitch
	Reed Elphalet
	Roseman Thos.
1818	Robenson Arch.—Di. 1821
1819	Rice Nathan
	Rice Thomas
	Rayford Matthew
	Richardson A.
	Ransel —
1820	Reggles Nath.
	Ruckle Thos. R.
	Raper Wm. H.
	Renian Meriath
	Rhodes Nathaniel
	Rowsey Edward
1821	Rodman W. W.
	Reynolds Isaac
	Robertson John
	Reynolds John
	Ryerson John
1822	Ross James
	Roach James B.
	Bisley John E.
	Rice John
	Rains John
	Randall Parham
1823	Ryerson William
	Roper John
	Richards David
	Robinson Ezk.
	Rogers Caleb D.
	Rhoton Josiah
	Rozzel Ashley B.
	Ryan William

Entered	S	Entered	S
1823	Randle Cornelius	1892	Strebeck George
	Roberts William—Ex. 1824	1793	Stocket Richard
	Randle Thomas		Smith Randolph
	Ray Edwin		Sale Anthony
1824	Richardson George		Stoneman Jesse
	Roberts David		Smith James
	Ransom Reuben	1794	Smith Henry
1825	Runnels Williams		Sneathen Nicholas
	Ragan Joab	1795	Seward John
	Reece Thomas		Sergeant Thomas F.
	Randell George		Shepherd John
	Ramsdell Hez.		Stebbins Cyrus
	Richardson James		Stevens David—Died 1825
	Ryerson Egerton	1796	Sale John
1826	Robinson Geo. W.		Strange Obadiah
	Ragan Zech.		Stokes James
	Renshaw John		Smith Ebenezer
	Rider John		Sneath Richard—Died 1824
	Richardson Chancey		Stone Joseph—Died 1818
	Richmond Paul C.	1794	Storm William
	Robins Onesephorus	1797	Shanks George
	S		Snelling Joseph
	Shadford George*		Stephens Ebenezer
	Swift Richard*		Sawyer Joseph
	Smith John*	1798	Shaw Thomas
	Smith Isaac*		Saunders John
1785	Street John	1799	Smith Nathan
	Sparks Robert		Swan Nathan
1786	Simmons John		Soule Joshua
1787	Spry Francis—Died 1789		Stewart John
	Spry Christopner	1800	Smith Asa
1788	Sugg Aquelia	1801	Sweet Griffin
1789	Spencer William		Shinn Asa
	Southall Daniel		Sweet John
	Sebrell Nicholas	1802	Smith James
	Smith Pemberton		Steel William
	Swaim Richard—Died 1808		Sutton Lewis
1790	Shines Daniel		Smith William
	Sproul John—Died 1793		Stratton Thomas—Ex. 1812
	Swain Matthew	1803	Stephens Joseph
1791	Sewel John		Scott Thomas
1792	Steward Samuel S.		Stimpson David
	Sands Philip	1804	Stead Henry

S
eck George
et Richard
a Randolph
Anthony
man Jesse
a James
o Henry
then Nicholas
ard John
ent Thomas F.
herd John
bins Cyrus
ens David—Died 1825
John
nge Obadiah
es James
th Ebenezer
ath Richard—Died 1824
e Joseph—Died 1818
rm William
nks George
lling Joseph
phens Ebenezer
yer Joseph
w Thomas
nders John
th Nathan
n Nathan
e Joshua
wart John
th Asa
et Griffin
n Asa
et John
th James
l William
on Lewis
th William
tton Thomas—Ex. 1812
hens Joseph
t Thomas
pson David
d Henry

Entered S
1804 Shackelford Jas. A.
Smith Nathan
Smith James M.
1805 Shands William
Sturdevunt Matthew P.
Saunders James
Smith Job—Expelled 8109
Samson Joseph—Ex. 1816
Scull Joseph
Sampson Hillis
1806 Sillers Samuel
Stancell Jesse
Stewart Thomas
Smith Joseph
Swaetswelder John
Streeter Elisha
Sias Solomon
Steel Joel
Smith Joseph
1807 Shadford Hector
Shaw Hezekiah
Scott William
Stone Elias
Sellers Leven
Shands Thomas
Shuts George
Sandford Peter P.
Smith Isaac B.
Swuyze William
Sornboger Stephen
Snow William
Scarritt Isaac
Stearns Nathaniel W.
1808 Stillwell Thomas
Smith James
Snyder Jacob
Stanbury Daniel
Shorpley John
Sikes Oliver
1809 Sinclair John
Senter Anthony
Smith ohn
Streeter Esquire

Entered S
1810 Stimpson Erasmus
Stebins James
Spicer Tobias
Sawyer Ephraim
Sherwood James
Stevens Ethan
Sabin Benjamin
1811 Strange John
Sewel John
Stone Elias
Shrock John
Sandford James
Smith James
Sandford Hawley
1812 Stanford Jonathan
Spurgeon Jesse
Stanley Thomas
Sharp James
Swift Swain
Sewell Thomas
Shanks Willam
Somerville John
Shaw Benjamin
Sandford Jacob
Sleeper Walter
1813 Spark Joseph
Smith John
Sharp James M.
Skidmare Lewis
Stamper Jonathan
1814 Stillwell W. M.—W'n 1821
Scott John
Schrader John
Stribling William
Sharp David
Solomon John
1815 Scarrett Joseph A.
Stephens Benjamin
Screps John
1816 Shepherd Daniel
Stewart Zalmon
Saunders Thomas
Star William H.

Entered	S
	Sinclair Jesse
	Smith John
	Stephenson William
	Seaton John
	Simmons Joseph
	Sprenger Conn.
1817	Spurlock Stephen
	Slocomb Charles
	Spain Hartwell
	Smith James
	Smith John M.
	Steele Eleazer
	Swazy Caleb
1818	Stowel Paul
	Segar Aurora
	Story Cyrus
	Segar Michael
	Silliman Cyrus
	Stanley Thomas
	Stewart John
	Stephens Peter
	Shepherd Belus
	Spear Elijah
1819	Stoddard Isaac
	Stephenson Edward
	Sanson James
	Schroeble John
	Stansell Levi
	Still Abraham
	Simmons Elisha
	Sanson Samuel D.
	Spurlock Burwell
	Swarmstedt Le Roy
	Smith James
1820	Scott James
	Smith Moses
	Samford Thomas
	Smith Barnet
	Smith Amos
	Steele David
	Seeny Robert
	Smith R. McK
	Saunderson Moses

Entered	S
1820	Spore David C.
	Smith Philander
1821	Stone Elias
	Simns James
	Stevenson Henry
	Simmons Esau
	Sampson A. W.—Ex 1821
	Seawell B. P.—Ex. 1821
	Sullivan Jacob
	Seagrest Henry
	Sinclair Elias
	Sinclair Elijah
	Swift Swain
	Shepherd Jacob R.
	Smith George
	Smith Friend W.
	Smith Dennison
	Sayre John
	Summerfield John—Di. 1825
1822	Smith Isaac
	Sailsbury Nathaniel
	Stone Isaac
	Stocking Sophronius
	Sherman Morgan
	Slater William—Died 1829
	Shaw John K.
	Scott Orange
	Sticking Ezh. W.
	Spaulding Newell S.
	Smith Thomas
	Sergeant Aaron D.
	Stebbins Salmon
	Stewart Quart
	Selick Bradley
	Stewart John N.
	Slicer Henry
	Speer James G. H.
	Scruggs Finch
	Sawyers Harvey
1823	Spencer Urial
	Spaulding Justin
	Saunderson Moses
	Stillman Stephen E.

S
David C.
Philander
Elias
James
enson Henry
ons Esau
son A. W.—Ex 1821
ell B. P.—Ex. 1821
van Jacob
rest Henry
air Elias
air Elijah
t Swain
herd Jacob R.
th George
th Friend W.
th Dennison
re John
merfield John—Di. 1825
th Isaac
isbury Nathaniel
ne Isaac
cking Sophronius
erman Morgan
ter William—Died 1826
aw John K.
tt Orange
cking Ezh. W.
aulding Newell S.
th Thomas
geant Aaron D.
obins Salmon
wart Quart
ck Bradley
wart John N.
er Henry
er James G. H.
uggs Finch
yers Harvey
ncer Urial
aulding Justin
anderson Moses
lman Stephen E.

Entered S
Sorin Matthew
Strichter John
Slade John
Sewell Samuel
Sewell Isaac
Smith Thomas
Smith Josiah
Smith William
1824 Smith Edward
Shores William
Strane Thomas A.
Stochdale James
Storks Leve
Stephins Dillon
Saulard Edward
Shattock D. O.
Sunderland Le Roy
Saunderson Aaron
Stocking Solon
Shepherd David
Sovereign George
Stoney Edmund
1825 Smith James M. S.
Sheaves Geo. W.
Summers John
Spruill William
Smith William A.
Sizer Fredrick W.
Stores George
Sutherland George
Stickney David
Scott Nathan W.
Stone William R.
Scott Elhu
Stone Jesse
Stephens Lewis
Scott John
1826 Scott John
Shaw Samuel, P.
Strawther Philips
Sheldon Harry O.
Stephenson Even

Entered T
1826 Stenmires Alex. H.
See William
Sykes Simon B.
Smith John
Scott Levi
Schermehorn R. F.
Sabin Peter
Smith James G.
Spaulding Nathaniel B.
1788 Smith Lemuel
T
Tunnel John*
Thomas William*
Thomas James*—Di. 1786
Titum Isham*
1787 Todd John
1788 Thompson Amos
1790 Tucker James
1791 Tolleson James—Di. 1801
Taylor Joshua
Tatum Joseph
1792 Tucker Joel
Totten Joseph—Di. 1818
Turant Benjamin
Talbot William
Trift Joseph
1793 Turck Antony—Di. 1803
1794 Thompson David
Tarr Samuel
1795 Tankersley Charles
1796 Thomas Samuel
Thatcher William
1800 Tayler Luther
1801 Taylor Lewis
Toy Joseph—Di. 1826
1802 Tompkins Neh. U.
1803 Thomson Samuel
1804 Tucker Epps
Tarpley Joseph
Trammel Sampson
Towne Levi
Tinkham John
1805 Thompson William

Entered	T	Entered	T
1815	Truett Elijah		Tredwell Benjamin
1816	Tuff Smickson	1806	Thompson John
	Turner John		Thwackston Zadok B.
	Talbot Othniel		Thompson Stephen
	Tivis John		Thurman Pleasant
1817	Tucker Clinton	1807	Tarver John
	Tooke John		Talbot Samuel
	Taylor John		Travis John
	Torry Alvin		Travis Joseph
1818	Tannyhill John		Thompson Robert
	Treadway Amos C.		Trower Thomas
	Taylor George		Thomas John
	Taylor John P.		Teller Isaac
1819	Taylor Edward T.		Talbot Samuel Q.
	Talley John	1808	Truman Jacob
	Tennant Thomas		Trail Abraham
1820	Trescott Charles—Di. 1822	1809	Truett Eli
	Thompson John		Talley William
	Tippet Chas. B.		Tidings Richard
	Tooker Manly		Taylor Amasa
1821	Thorn Charles	1810	Traves Francis
	Tidwell Elias		Talley Alexander
	Tweat Thomas		Tarrant John
	Treggs John J.		Tidings Richard
	Tyler John B.		Thompson Samuel H.
1822	Thompson Jesse		Taylor John
	Thatcher Hezekiah		Torbert William
	Turrentine Morgan		Thompson Samuel
	Thompson James L.	1811	Timmons Stephen
	Tipton William		Tucker Reuben
1823	Tucker Jonathan G. E. 1825		Taylor John C.
	Thomas Christopher	1812	Turner Allen
	Taylor James C.		Talley Nicholas
	Townsend Joel		Threft Minton
1824	Tevis Daniel		Thomas James
	Trott James Jr		Thorp Thomas
	Thompkins Samuel		Tucker Thomas
	Tackett Ignatus H.	1813	Tatman Joseph
	Talbot John		Trader Moses
	Tuller Anson		Turner Thomas B.
1825	Taylor Gilbert D.		Thornton Thomas C.
	Thompson William		Tredwell Jabez
1826	Taylor Thomas	1814	Truce Henry

T
 Twell Benjamin
 Thompson John
 Trackston Zadok B.
 Thompson Stephen
 Terman Pleasant
 Tver John
 Toot Samuel
 Tvis John
 Tvis Joseph
 Thompson Robert
 Tver Thomas
 Thomas John
 Tler Isaac
 Toot Samuel Q.
 Tman Jacob
 Til Abraham
 Tett Eli
 Tley William
 Tings Richard
 Tyler Amasa
 Taves Francis
 Tley Alexander
 Trant John
 Tings Richard
 Thompson Samuel H.
 Tlor John
 Tbert William
 Thompson Samuel
 Tmons Stephen
 Tker Reuben
 Tlor John C.
 Tner Allen
 Tey Nicholas
 Tett Minton
 Tmas James
 Trp Thomas
 Tker Thomas
 Tman Joseph
 Tler Moses
 Tner Thomas B.
 Tnton Thomas C.
 Twell Jabez
 Tce Henry

Entered	U
	Taylor Michael
	Tevis Benj.
	Tevis Fletcher
	Tomlinson Jos. S.
	Talbott Nat'l M.
	Tunnel David
1526	Turkington Jos.
	Tanner Rucker
	Trotter John
	Tarrant James
	Tatum John M.
	Towner Joseph
	U
1821	Upham Frederick
	V
	Vasey Thomas*
1786	Vanover Henry
1790	Vick Newet
	Van Noststrand Albert—Di. 1797
1791	Vallau David Expelled 1791
1793	Vannerman John
1796	Vannest Peter
1798	Vredenburg William
1801	Vandouzen Matthew
1802	Vanderlip Elias
	Vermillion Wm.
1707	Virgin Charles
1810	Vanschaick John
1812	Vicory John
1818	Vinton Robert
1821	Vredenburg H.
1825	Varner Jacob
	W
	Wright Richard*
	Wade John*
	Watters William*
	Watters Nicholas*—Died, 1805
	Wyatt Joseph*
	Williams Robert*
	Whitworth Abraham*
	Whatcoat Richard*—Di. 1806
	Willis Henry*—Died, 1808
	Ware Thomas*
	White James*
1785	Whitaker Mark
	Williamson Thomas
1787	Weatherford Thomas
	Wilson James
1788	Wells George
	Wigton Samuel
1789	Wells Joshua

Entered	W
1789	Workman Thomas
	Ward William
	West Edward
1790	West John
	Wiley Rufus
	Wilson Benjamin
	Wyman John—Died, 1774
	Wager Philip
1791	Weed John
	Whitehead Thomas
1792	Ward James
	Watson John
	Weeks Salathiel—Di. 1801
	Wainwright Joseph
1793	White Alward
	Wilkerson William
	Woolsey Thomas
	Woolsey Elijah
	Wooster Hezekiah C.—Di. 1798
	Wilkerson Thomas
	Wells William
1794	Wayman Edmund—Di. 1802
	Weeks John
	Welsh Samuel
	Wooster John
1795	Williams Curtis
	Wood Humphrey
	Williamson Jonathan
	Wilson Moses
	Whitby Joseph
1796	Wyatt Solomon
	Williston Ralph
	Wilson Michel H. R.
1797	Walker Nathaniel
	West William
	Wilkerson Robert
	Wilson John—Di. 1810
1798	Webb Daniel
	Wood Abner—Expelled, 1805
	Willey Bazillia
1800	Wheeler Buddy W.
	Williams William
1801	Watson Joab
	Whittle Edward
	Walls John
	Wilkerson Josiah
	Wiltbank
	Washburn Ebenezer
	Ward Elijah
1802	Woodward Frederick
	Willis Joseph
	White Ebenezer
	Whitehead Stephen G.
	Wicker Joel

Entered	W
	Ward Francis
1803	Walker Jesse
	Wright William
	Willis Nicholas
	Woolley George
	Weaver John P.
	Willard Elijah
	Winch Joel
	Walker Thomas
	White Henry
	Walker John
1804	Warwick Wiley
	Watts Benjamin
	Watts James
1805	Williams Joseph
	Wilcox Edmund
	Weaver John
	Weedon Nathan
	Walker Levi
	Williamson John
1806	Williams Grey
	Warfield Charles
	Weston Jonas
	Wells Eleazer
	Wilkinson John
	Willis Bela
1807	Warren Henry
	Watt John G.
1808	Wilcox Edmund
	Wheat Eli
	Wright Edmund
	Wilson James
	Whiting Lansford
1809	Winnians William
	Watson John
	Waugh Beverly
	Woolson John
	Wilson John
	Wentworth Daniel
1810	West Samuel
	Wimberly F. D.
	Webb John
	White John
	Webster Wesley
	Wilson Robert
	Williams William
	Wingle Stephen
	Walker Chandler
	Worthing Jonathan
	Weather Baker
	Wright Thomas—Di. 1825
1811	Waggoner Samuel—Di. 1817
	Wicks William
1812	Waddle Charles

Entered	W
1812	Windsor Joseua
	Wyatt Peter
	Woodworth Oliver
1813	Walker Jason
	Wilson Shipley W.
	Whitehead William
	White Samuel B.
	White Nicholas
	Wiltzen Zacheriah
1814	Warfield Lott
	Winnigham William
	Williams West
	Walker Ivy
	Winchester Salmon
	Ward Ebenezer W.
	Wight John F.
	Whitesides Jacob
	Waterman John
	Westlake Burroughs
1815	Weston Horace
	Wells Samuel
	Williams Zacheriah
1817	Westlake William
	Williams William
	Wofford Benjamin
	Williams Parker
1818	Williams Benajah
	Wilson James
	Warner Hiram G.
	Williams Asa
	Wright Will am—Died 1822
	Ware Nicholas
	Winn Thomas L.
	Wittin James
	Wiley Allen
	Wallace John—Di. 1824
1819	William Davies
	Walker Lawson
	Ward Francis A.—Ex. 1826
1820	Williams William H.
	Wilkenson Robert
	Warner Peter
1821	Walker Nathan—Di. 1825
	Williams Joseph
	Waters Alson J.
	Ward Robt. T.
	Willson Norval
	Williams Joseph
1822	Wood Charles
	White George
	Williams Otis
	Winner Isaac
	West John B.
	Wade Peyton

W
 sor Joseua
 t Peter
 worth Oliver
 er Jason
 n Shipley W.
 head William
 e Samuel B.
 e Nicholas
 n Zacheriah
 eld Lott
 igham W. liam
 ams West
 er Ivy
 hester Salmon
 e Ebenezer W.
 t John F.
 esides Jacob
 rman John
 lake Burroughs
 on Horace
 s Samuel
 ams Zacherlah
 lake William
 ame William
 ord Benjamin
 ams Parker
 ams Benajah
 on James
 er Hiram G.
 ams Asa
 ht Will am—Died 1822
 e Nicholas
 n Thomas L.
 n James
 y Allen
 ce John—Di. 1824
 am Davies
 er Lawson
 Francis A.—Ex. 1826
 ams William H.
 enson Robert
 er Peter
 er Nathan—Di. 1825
 ams Joseph
 rs Alson J.
 Robt. T.
 on Norval
 ams Joseph
 d Charles
 e George
 ams Otis
 er Isaac
 John B.
 Peyton

Entered W
 22 Westmoreland Mark
 Walker John
 23 Wright David
 Warren Elias C.
 Waldron Solomon
 Wheelock Hascall
 Wallace Wesley W.
 White Joseph
 Witten John W.
 White William W.
 Wryick Adam
 Westerland Jonas
 White John—Di. 1825
 Whittin John W.
 Wood John
 Wood Aaron
 24 Waddle George
 Wilson Job
 Wright David
 Walker Robert
 Williams David H.
 Wright John C.
 Wade Daniel F.
 Weatherspoon C. P.
 Watson John H.—Ex. 1826
 Wiltshire George
 Wilbur Warren
 Wallace John H.
 Wiley John
 Whipple Eleazer
 Watts John

Entered Y
 1825 Wilson Robert J.
 Waller Wm. I.
 Wait John
 Wait Aaron
 Wilson John jr.
 1826 West Asa D
 Williams Henry
 Waldron Hiram
 Wakelield Leonard
 Warren James
 Whitney John
 Wheeler Elisha
 Woodworth Philo
 Y
 Yeargan Andrew*
 Yearby Joseph*
 1796 Yallaby Robert
 1801 Young Benjamin—Exp'd 1805
 1803 Young Jacob
 1804 Young James
 Young Dan
 Young David
 Young William
 1813 Youmans David
 1814 Youngs James
 1818 Young Damon—Died 1825
 1821 Young William—Died 1825
 Young Charles
 1822 Young Thomas A.
 1823 Young Seth
 1826 Young George W.

The state of the missions under the direction of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, may be seen in the following extract from the "Report" for the last year.

The number of Mission Stations now occupied is 156. The Missionaries at present employed, including Assistant Missionaries, are 218. The salaried catechists and teachers employed chiefly in the Society's daily schools are about 100. The gratuitous teachers in the Sunday and day Missionary schools are upwards of 1,400.

The number of members on the Foreign Stations, exclusive of those in the Irish Missions, is 42,743, being an increase of 1,550 on the number reported last year. In the West India colonies 24,400 of the members are slaves, and 7,281 are free negroes and persons of colour.

In Stockholm, Germany, France, Gibraltar, Malta and Zante..	31
In Continental India and Ceylon.....	98
In New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, and the Friendly Isles.....	73
In Africa.....	93
In the West Indies.....	330
In British North America, including Newfoundland.....	673

Total number of Members under the care of our Foreign Missionaries this year.....	427
Last year.....	411

Increase of Members in the Missionary Stations.....	15
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The Returns of the Children and Adults in the Mission daily and Sunday Schools are as follows:

Ireland	-	-	-	5,000
Mediterranean	-	-	-	250
Continental India and Ceylon	-	-	-	5,374
Southern Africa	-	-	-	1,431
Western Africa	-	-	-	180
South Sea Missions	-	-	-	1,411
West Indies	-	-	-	7,110
British North America	-	-	-	4,564
Total				25,420

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On page 216, at head of the chapter, for 18, read 1810.

On page 426, for Book IV, read Book VII.

On page 443, in contents of Chap. I. for McCaily, read McCarty

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